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VOLUME XXXV

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PARIS : LONDON : NEW YORK : CHICAGO

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VOLTAIRE

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE UNDER PETER THE GREAT

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

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HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

UNDER PETER THE GREAT.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE RETURN OF THE CZAR TO HIS DOMINIONS—HIS POLITICS AND OCCUPATIONS.

THE BEHAVIOR of the Sorbonne to Peter, when he went to visit the mausoleum of Cardinal Richelieu, deserves to be treated of by itself.

Some doctors of this university desired to have the honor of bringing about a union between the Greek and Latin Churches. Those who are acquainted with antiquity need not be told that the Christian religion was first introduced into the West by the Asiatic Greeks; that it was born in the East, and that the first fathers, the first councils, the first liturgies, and the first rites, were all from the East; that there is not a single title or office in the hierarchy but was in Greek, which plainly shows whence they were all derived. Upon the division of the Roman Empire it was inevitable that sooner or later there must be two religions as well as two empires, and that the same schism should arise between the

eastern and western Christians, as between the followers of Osman and the Persians.

It is this schism which certain doctors of the Sorbonne thought to crush all at once by means of a memorial which they presented to Peter the Great, and effect what Pope Leo IX. and his successors had in vain labored for many ages to bring about, by legates, councils, and even money. These doctors should have known that Peter the Great, who was the head of the Russian Church, was not likely to acknowledge the pope's authority. They expatiated in their memorial on the liberties of the Gallican Church, which the czar gave himself no concern about. They asserted that the popes ought to be subject to the councils, and that a papal decree is not an article of faith; but their representations were in vain; all they got by their pains was to make the pope their enemy by such free declarations, at the same time that they pleased neither the czar nor the Russian Church.

There were in this plan of union certain political views which the good fathers did not understand, and some points of controversy which they pretended to understand, and which each party explained as they thought proper. It was concerning the Holy Ghost, which, according to the Latin Church, proceeds from the Father and the Son, and which at present, according to the Greeks, proceeds from the Father through the Son, after having, for a considerable time, proceeded from the Father only; on this occasion they quoted a passage in St. Epiphanius, where, it is said, that the Holy Ghost is

neither brother to the Son, nor grandson to the Father.

But Peter, when he left Paris, had other business to mind than that of clearing up passages in St. Epiphanius. Nevertheless, he received the memorial of the Sorbonne with his accustomed affability. That learned body wrote to some of the Russian bishops, who returned a polite answer, though the major part of them were offended at the proposed union. It was in order to remove any apprehensions of such a union, that Peter, some time afterward, namely, in 1718, when he had driven the Jesuits out of his dominions, instituted the ceremony of a burlesque conclave.

He had at his court an old fool, named Josof, who had taught him to write, and who thought he had, by that trivial service, merited the highest honors and most important post; Peter, who sometimes softened the toils of government by indulging his people in amusements which befitted a nation as yet not entirely reformed by his labors, promised his writing-master to bestow on him one of the highest dignities in the world; accordingly he appointed him knes papa, or supreme pontiff, with an appointment of two thousand crowns, and assigned him a house to live in, in the Tartar quarter at St. Petersburg. He was installed by a number of buffoons, with great ceremony, and four fellows who stammered were appointed to harangue him on the accession. He created a number of cardinals, and marched in procession at their head, and the whole sacred college was made drunk with brandy; after the

death of this Jotof, an officer named Buturlin was made pope: this ceremony has been thrice renewed at Moscow and St. Petersburg, the ridiculousness of which, though it appeared of no moment, yet has confirmed the people in their aversion to a Church which pretended to the supreme power, and which had anathematized so many crowned heads. In this manner did the czar revenge the cause of twenty emperors of Germany, ten kings of France, and a number of other sovereigns; and this was all the advantage the Sorbonne gained from its impolitic attempt to unite the Latin and Greek Churches.

The czar's journey to France proved of more utility to his kingdom, by bringing about a connection with a trading and industrious people, than could have arisen from the projected union between two rival Churches; one of which will always maintain its ancient independence, and the other its new superiority.

Peter carried several artificers with him out of France, in the same manner as he had done out of England; for every nation which he visited thought it an honor to assist him in his design of introducing the arts and sciences into his newly-formed state, and to be instrumental in this species of new creation.

In this expedition, he drew up a sketch of a treaty of commerce with France, which he put into the hands of its ministers in Holland, as soon as he returned thither, but which was not signed by the French ambassador, Châteauneuf, till August

15, 1717, at The Hague. This treaty not only related to trade, but likewise to bringing about peace in the North. The king of France and the elector of Brandenburg accepted the office of mediators, which Peter offered them. This was sufficient to give the king of England to understand that the czar was not well pleased with him, and crowned the hopes of Baron Goertz, who from that time left nothing undone to bring about a union between Charles and Peter, to stir up new enemies against George I., and to assist Cardinal Alberoni in his schemes in every part of Europe. Goertz now paid and received visits publicly from the czar's ministers at The Hague, to whom he declared that he was invested with full power from the court of Sweden to conclude a peace.

The czar suffered Goertz to dispose all his batteries, without assisting therein himself, and was prepared either to make peace with the king of Sweden, or to carry on the war, and continued still in alliance with the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, and in appearance with the elector of Hanover.

It was evident that he had no fixed design but that of profiting by circumstances, and that his main object was to complete the general establishments he had set on foot. He well knew that the negotiations and interests of princes, their leagues, their friendships, their jealousies, and their enmities, were subject to change with each ensuing year, and that frequently not the smallest traces remain of the greatest efforts in politics. A simple manufactory

well established is often of more real advantage to a state than twenty treaties.

Peter having joined the czarina, who was waiting for him in Holland, continued his travels with her. They crossed Westphalia, and arrived in Berlin in a private manner. The new king of Prussia was as much an enemy to ceremonious vanities, and the pomp of a court, as Peter himself; and it was an instructive lesson to the *etiquette* of Vienna and Spain, the *punctilio* of Italy, and the *politesse* of the French court, to see a king who made use of a wooden elbow-chair, who went always in the dress of a common soldier, and who had banished from his table not only all the luxuries, but even the more moderate indulgences of life.

The czar and czarina observed the same plain manner of living; and had Charles been with them, the world might have beheld four crowned heads, with less pomp and state about them than a German bishop, or a cardinal of Rome. Never were luxury and effeminacy opposed by such noble examples.

It cannot be denied that, if one of our fellow-subjects had, from mere curiosity, made the fifth part of the journey that Peter I. did for the good of his kingdom, he would have been considered as an extraordinary person, and one who challenged our consideration. From Berlin he went to Dantzic, still accompanied by his wife, and thence to Mitau, where he protected his niece, the duchess of Courland, lately become a widow. He visited all the places he had conquered, made several new and useful regulations in St. Petersburg; he then went to

Moscow, where he rebuilt the houses of several persons that had fallen to ruin; thence he went to Czaritsin, on the river Volga, to stop the incursions of the Kuban Tartars, constructed lines of communication from the Volga to the Don, and erected forts at certain distances, between the two rivers. At the same time he caused the military code, which he had lately composed, to be printed, and erected a court of justice to examine into the conduct of his ministers and to retrieve the disorders in his finances; he pardoned several who were found guilty, and punished others. Among the latter was the great prince Menshikoff himself, who stood in need of the royal clemency. But a sentence more severe, which he thought himself obliged to utter against his own son, filled with bitterness those days which were, in other respects, covered with so much glory.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST PRINCE ALEXIS PETROWITZ.

PETER THE GREAT, at the age of seventeen, had married, in the year 1689, Eudocia Theodora, or Theodoruna Lapoukin. Bred up in the prejudices of her country, and incapable of surmounting them like her husband, the greatest opposition he met with in erecting his empire, and forming his people, came from her. She was, as is too common to her sex, a slave to superstition; every new and useful alteration she regarded as a species of sacrilege; and

every foreigner whom the czar employed to execute his great designs appeared to her no better than a corrupter and innovator.

Her open and public complaints gave encouragement to the factious, and those who were the advocates of ancient customs and manners. Her conduct in other respects by no means made amends for such imperfections. The czar was at length obliged to repudiate her in 1696, and shut her up in a convent at Susdal, where they obliged her to take the veil under the name of Helena.

The son whom he had by her in 1690 was born unhappily with the disposition of his mother, and that disposition received additional strength from his very first education. My memoirs say that he was intrusted to the care of superstitious men, who ruined his understanding forever. It was in vain that they hoped to correct these first impressions, by giving him foreign preceptors; the very fact that they were foreigners disgusted him. He was not born destitute of genius; he spoke and wrote German well; he had a fair notion of designing, and understood something of mathematics: but these very memoirs affirm that the reading of ecclesiastical books was the ruin of him. The young Alexis imagined he saw in these books a condemnation of everything which his father had done. There were some priests at the head of the malcontents, and by the priests he suffered himself to be governed.

They persuaded him that the whole nation looked with horror upon the enterprises of Peter; that the frequent illnesses of the czar promised but a short

life; and that his son could not hope to please the nation, except by showing his aversion for all changes of custom. These murmurs and counsels did not break out into an open faction or conspiracy; but everything seemed to tend that way, and the tempers of the people were inflamed.

Peter's marriage with Catherine in 1707 and the children that he had by her began to sour the disposition of the young prince. Peter tried every method to reclaim him; he even placed him at the head of the regency for a year; he sent him to travel; he married him in 1711, at the end of the campaign of Pruth, to the princess of Brunswick. This marriage was attended with great misfortunes. Alexis, now twenty-two years old, gave himself up to the debauchery of youth, and that boorishness of ancient manners he so much delighted in. These irregularities almost brutalized him. His wife, despised, ill-treated, wanting even necessaries, and deprived of all comfort, languished away in disappointment, and died at last of grief, Nov. 1, 1715.

She left Prince Alexis one son; and, according to the natural order, this son was one day to become heir to the empire. Peter perceived with sorrow that, when he should be no more, all his labors were likely to be destroyed by those of his own blood. After the death of the princess, he wrote a letter to his son, equally tender and resolute; it finished with these words: "I will still wait a little time, to see if you will correct yourself; if not, know that I will cut you off from the succession, as we lop off a useless member. Do not imagine that I mean only to

intimidate you; do not rely upon the title of being my only son; for, if I spare not my own life for my country and the good of my people, how shall I spare you? I will rather choose to leave my kingdom to a foreigner who deserves it, than to my own son, who makes himself unworthy of it."

This is the letter of a father, but it is still more the letter of a legislator; it shows us besides, that the order of succession was not invariably established in Russia, as in other kingdoms, by those fundamental laws which take away from fathers the right of disinheriting their children; and the czar believed he had an undoubted prerogative to dispose of an empire which he had founded.

At this very time Empress Catherine was brought to bed of a prince, who died afterward in 1719. Whether this news lowered the courage of Alexis, or whether it was imprudence or bad counsel, he wrote to his father that he renounced the crown, and all hopes of reigning. "I take God to witness," says he, "and I swear by my soul, that I will never pretend to the succession. I put my children into your hands, and I desire only a provision for life."

The czar wrote him a second letter, as follows:* "You speak of the succession, as if I stood in need

*As these letters and answers afford the most striking evidence of the czar's prudence, and the prince's insincerity, and will convey to the reader a clear idea of the grounds and motives of this extraordinary transaction, we have inserted the following translation of them. The first letter from the czar to his son is dated the 27th of October, 1715, and displays a noble spirit of religion, with the most ardent desire of leaving a successor who should perpetuate his name and glory to future ages.

"Son (says the czar to him), you cannot be ignorant

of your consent in the disposal thereof. I reproached you with the aversion you have shown to all kinds of business, and signified to you that I was highly dissatisfied with your conduct in general; but to these particulars you have given me no answer. Paternal exhortations make no impression on you, wherefore I resolve to write you this once for the last time. If you despise the admonitions I give you

of what is known to all the world, that our people groaned under the oppression of the Swedes, before the beginning of this present war. By the usurped possession of many of our maritime ports, so necessary to our state, they cut us off from all commerce with the rest of mankind; and we saw, with deep regret, that they had even cast a mist over the eyes of persons of the greatest discernment, who tamely brooked their slavery, and made no complaints to us. You know how much it cost us at the beginning of this war, to make ourselves thoroughly experienced, and to stand our ground in spite of all the advantages which our irreconcilable enemies gained over us. The Almighty alone has conducted us by his hand, and conducts us still. We submitted to that probationary state with resignation to the will of God, not doubting but it was He who made us pass through it; He has accepted our submission; and the same enemy, before whom we were wont to tremble, now trembles before us. These are effects which, under God's assistance, we owe to our labor, and those of our faithful and affectionate sons, and Russian subjects. But while I survey the successes with which God blessed our arms, if I turn my eyes on the posterity that is to succeed me, my soul is pierced with anguish; and I have no enjoyment of my present happiness, when I carry my views into futurity. All my felicity vanishes away like a dream, since you, my son, reject all means of rendering yourself capable of governing well after me. Your incapacity is voluntary; for you cannot excuse yourself from want of genius: it is inclination alone you want. Far less can you plead the want of bodily strength, as if God had not furnished you sufficiently in that respect; for though your constitution be none of the strongest, it cannot be reckoned weak. Yet you will not so much as hear of warlike exercises; though it is by those means we are risen from that obscurity in

while I am alive, what regard will you pay to them after my death? But though you had the inclination at present to be true to your promises, yet a corrupt priesthood will be able to turn you at pleasure, and force you to falsify them. They have no dependence but upon you. You have no sense of gratitude toward him who gave you your being. Have you ever assisted him in toils and labors since you arrived at the age of maturity? Do you not censure and condemn, nay, even affect to hold in detestation,

which we were buried, and have made ourselves known to the nations about us, whose esteem we now enjoy. I am far from desiring you to cherish in yourself a disposition to make war for its own sake, and without just reasons; all I demand of you is, that you would apply yourself to learn the military art; because, without understanding the rules of war, it is impossible to be qualified for government. I might set before your eyes many examples of what I propose to you; but shall only mention the Greeks, with whom we are united by the same profession of faith. Whence came the declension of their empire, but from the neglect of arms? Sloth and inaction have subjected them to tyrants, and that slavery under which they have groaned. You are much mistaken, if you imagine it is enough for a prince that he have good generals to act under his orders; no, my son, it is on the chief himself that the eyes of the world are fixed; they study his inclinations, and easily slide into the imitation of his manners. My brother, during his reign, loved magnificence in dress, and splendid equipages, and horses richly caparisoned; the taste of this country was not much formed that way; but the pleasures of the prince soon became those of the subjects, who are readily led to imitate him both in the objects of his love and disgust. If people are so easily disengaged from things that are only for pleasure, will they not be still more prone to forget, and in process of time wholly to lay aside, the use of arms, the exercise of which grows the more irksome the less they are habituated to them? You have no inclination to learn the profession of war; you do not apply yourself to it; and consequently will never know it. How then will you be able to command others, and to judge

whatever I do for the good of my people? In a word, I have reason to conclude that, if you survive me, you will overturn everything that I have done. Take your choice, either endeavor to make yourself worthy of the throne, or embrace a monastic state. I expect your answer, either in writing, or by word of mouth, otherwise I shall treat you as a common malefactor."

This letter was very severe, and it would have been easy for the prince to reply that he would alter

of the rewards which those subjects deserve who do their duty, or of the punishment due to such as fall short of obedience? You must judge only by other people's eyes; and will be considered as a young bird, which, reaching out its beak, is as ready to receive poison as proper nourishment. You say the infirm state of your health makes you unfit to bear the fatigues of war; but that is a frivolous excuse. I desire you not to undergo the fatigues of that profession, though it is there that all great captains are begun; but I wish you had an inclination to the military art; and reason may give it you, if you have it not from nature. Had you once this inclination, it would occupy your thoughts at all times, even in your hours of sickness. Ask those who remember my brother's reign: his state of health was much more infirm than yours; he could not manage a horse of never so little mettle, nor hardly mount him; yet he loved horses, and perhaps there never will be in the country finer stables than his. Hence you see, that success does not always depend on personal labor, but upon the inclination. If you think that there are princes, whose affairs fail not to succeed, though they go not to the war in person, you are in the right; but if they go not to the field of battle, they have however an inclination to go, and are acquainted with the military art. For instance, the late king of France did not always take the field himself; but we know to what degree he was a lover of war, and how many glorious exploits he performed therein; which caused his campaigns be called the theatre and school of the world. The bent of that prince's mind was not turned to military affairs only, he had also a taste for the polite arts, for manufactures, and other institutions, which

his conduct; instead of which, he only returned a short answer to his father, desiring permission to turn monk.

This resolution appeared altogether unnatural; and it may furnish matter of surprise that the czar should think of travelling, and leaving a son at home so obstinate and ill-affected; but, at the same time, his doing so is next to a proof that he thought he had no reason to apprehend a conspiracy from that son.

have made his kingdom more flourishing than any other. After all these remonstrances which I have laid before you, I return to my first subject, which immediately concerns yourself. I am a man, and consequently must die: to whom shall I leave the care of finishing what by God's grace I have begun, and of preserving what I have in part recovered? To a son, who, like that slothful servant in the Gospel, buries his talent in the earth, and neglects to improve what God has committed to his trust? How often have I reproached you with your sullenness and indocility? I have been obliged to chastise you on that account. For these several years past, I have hardly spoken to you, because I almost despair of bringing you back to the right way; discouraged and disheartened by the fruitlessness of all my endeavors. You loiter on in supine indolence; abandoning yourself to shameful pleasures, without extending your foresight to the dangerous consequences which such a conduct must produce, both to yourself and the whole state; you confine yourself to the government of your own house, and in that station you acquit yourself very ill; St. Paul has told us, "he that knows not how to govern his own house, how shall he be able to rule the church of God?" In like manner I say to you, since you know not how to manage your domestic affairs, how can you be able to govern a kingdom? I am determined, at last, to signify to you my final purpose, being willing, however, to defer the execution of it for a short time, to see if you will reform; if not, know that I am resolved to deprive you of the succession, as I would lop off a useless branch. Do not imagine, that because I have no other child but you,* I

*This letter was written about eight days before the birth of Peter Petrowitz, the czar's second son.

The czar, before he set out for Germany and France, went to pay his son a visit. The prince, who was at that time ill, or at least feigned he was so, received his father in his bed, where he protested, with the most solemn oaths, that he was ready to retire into a cloister. The czar gave him six months to consider it, and then set out on his travels with the czarina.

No sooner had he arrived at Copenhagen, than he heard—as he might reasonably expect—that the

mean by this only to intimidate you: I will most certainly execute my resolution; and God requires it of me. For, since I spare not my own life for the sake of my country and the welfare of my people, why should I allow an effeminate prince to ascend the throne after me, who would sacrifice the interest of the subject to his pleasures? and should he be obliged to expose his life in their behalf, would leave them to perish, rather than redress their grievances. I will call in a mere stranger to the crown, if he be but worthy of that honor, sooner than my own son, if he is unworthy. PETER."

To this letter the czarevitch replied: "Most gracious sovereign and father, I have read the letter which your majesty sent me of the 27th of October, 1715, after the interment of my wife; and all the answer I can make to it is, that if your majesty is determined to deprive me of the succession to the crown of Russia, on account of my inability, your will be done. I even request it of you very earnestly; because I judge not myself fit for government. My memory is greatly impaired; and without memory, there is no managing affairs. The powers both of my body and mind are much weakened by the diseases which I have contracted, and I am thereby incapacitated for the rule of so great a people. Such a charge requires a man far more vigorous than I am. For these reasons I am not ambitious to succeed you (whom God preserve through a length of years) in the crown of Russia, even though I had no brother, as I have one at present, whom God long preserve. As little will I for the future set up any claim to the succession; to the truth of which I solemnly swear, taking God to be my witness; and in testimony thereof I write and sign

czarevitch conversed only with factious and evil-minded persons who strove to feed his discontent. Upon this the czar wrote to him that he had only to choose between a throne and a convent; and that, if he had any thoughts of succeeding him, he must immediately set out and join him at Copenhagen.

But the confidants of the prince remonstrating to him how dangerous it would be to trust himself in a place where he could have no friends to advise him, and where he would be exposed to the anger of an incensed father, and the machinations of a revengeful stepmother, he, under pretence of going to join his father at Copenhagen, took the road to Vienna, and threw himself under the protection of the emperor Charles VI., his brother-in-law, intending to remain at his court till the death of the czar.

This adventure of the czarevitch was nearly the same as that of Louis XI. of France, who, when he was dauphin, quitted the court of his father, Charles VII., and took refuge with the duke of Burgundy; but the dauphin was much more culpable than Alexis, inasmuch as he married in direct opposition to his father's will, raised an army against him, and threw himself into the arms of a prince who was Charles's declared enemy, and refused to hearken to

these presents. I put my children into your hands; and for myself I ask no more of you than a bare maintenance during my life, leaving the whole to your pleasure.

Your humble servant and son,

ALEXIS."

Peter soon penetrated through the disguise his son had assumed, and therefore wrote him the letter quoted in the text, dated Jan. 19, 1716, and which he called his "Last Admonition."

the repeated requests of his father, to return back to his court.

The czarevitch, on the contrary, had married only in compliance with his father's orders, had never rebelled against him, nor raised an army, nor taken refuge in the dominions of an enemy, and returned to throw himself at his feet, on the very first letter he received from him; for as soon as Peter knew that his son had been at Vienna, and had afterward retired to the Tyrol, and thence to Naples, which, at that time, belonged to the emperor, he despatched Romanzoff, a captain of his guards, and the privy counsellor, Tolstoi, with a letter written with his own hand, and dated at Spa, July 21, 1717. They found the prince at Naples, in the Castle of Saint Elmo, and delivered him his father's letter, which was as follows:

"I now write to you for the last time, to acquaint you that you must instantly comply with my orders, which will be communicated to you by Tolstoi and Romanzoff. If you obey, I give you my sacred word and promise that I will not punish you; and that if you will return home, I will love you more than ever; but, if you do not, I, as your father, and in virtue of the authority which God has given me over you, pronounce against you my eternal curse; and, as your sovereign, declare to you that I will find means to punish your disobedience, in which I trust God himself will assist me, and espouse the just cause of an injured parent and king.

"For the rest, remember that I have never laid any restraint upon you. Was I obliged to leave you

at liberty to choose your way of life? Had I not the power in my own hands to oblige you to conform to my will? I had only to command, and make myself obeyed."

The viceroy of Naples found it no difficult matter to persuade the czarevitch to return to his father. This is an incontestable proof that the emperor had no intention to enter into any engagements with the prince that might give umbrage to his father. Alexis, therefore, returned with the envoys, bringing with him his mistress, Aphrosyne, who had been the companion of his elopement.

We may consider the czarevitch as an ill-advised young man, who had gone to Vienna, and to Naples, instead of going to Copenhagen, according to the orders of his father and sovereign. Had he been guilty of no other crime than this, which is common enough with young and giddy persons, it was certainly excusable. The prince determined to return to his father, on the faith of his having taken God to witness that he not only would pardon him, but that he would love him better than ever. But it appears by the instructions given to the two envoys who went to take him back, and even by the czar's own letter, that his father required him to declare the persons who had been his counsellors, and also to fulfil the oath he had made of renouncing the succession.

It seemed difficult to reconcile this exclusion of the czarevitch from the succession with the other part of the oath, by which the czar had bound himself in his letter, namely, that of loving his son bet-

ter than ever. Perhaps, divided between paternal love, and the justice he owed to himself and people, as a sovereign, he might limit the renewal of his affection to his son in a convent, instead of to that son on a throne; perhaps, likewise, he hoped to bring him to reason, and to render him worthy of the succession at last, by making him sensible of the loss of a crown which he had forfeited by his own indiscretion. In a circumstance so uncommon, so intricate, and so afflicting, it may easily be supposed that the minds of both father and son were under equal perturbation, and hardly consistent with themselves.

The prince arrived at Moscow on Feb. 13, 1717, and the same day went to throw himself at his father's feet, who had returned to the city from his travels. They had a long conference together, and a report was immediately spread through the city that the prince and his father were reconciled, and that all past transactions were buried in oblivion. But the next day orders were issued for the regiments of guards to be under arms at break of day, and for all the czar's ministers, boyars, and counsellors to repair to the great hall of the castle; as also for the prelates, together with two monks of St. Basil, professors of divinity, to assemble in the cathedral, at the tolling of the great bell. The unhappy prince was then conducted to the great castle like a prisoner, and having come into his father's presence, threw himself, in tears at his feet, and presented a writing, containing a confession of his faults, declaring himself unworthy of the succes-

sion, and imploring only that his life might be spared.*

The czar, raising up his son, withdrew with him into a private room, where he put many questions to him, declaring to him at the same time, that if he concealed any one circumstance relating to his elopement, his life should answer for it. The prince was then brought back to the great hall, where the council was assembled, and the czar's "Declaration," which had been previously prepared, was there publicly read in his presence.

THE CZAR'S DECLARATION.

Peter I., by the grace of God czar and emperor of Russia, etc., to all our faithful subjects, ecclesiastical, military, and civil, of all the states of the Russian nation. It is notorious, and well known to the greatest part of our faithful subjects, and chiefly to those who live in the places of our residence, or who are in our service, with how much care and application we have caused our eldest son Alexis to be brought up and educated; having given him for that purpose, from his infancy, tutors to teach him the Russian tongue, and foreign languages, and to instruct him in all arts and sciences, in order not only to bring him up in our Christian orthodox faith of the Greek profession, but also in the knowledge of political and military affairs, and likewise in the constitution of foreign countries, their customs and languages, through the reading of history, and other books, in all manner of sciences, becoming a prince of his high rank, that he might acquire the qualifications worthy of

*The prince's renunciation was couched in the following terms:

I, the undernamed, declare upon the Holy Gospel, that, on account of the crimes I have committed against his czarish majesty, my father and sovereign, as set forth in his manifesto, I am, through my own fault, excluded from the throne of Russia. Therefore, I confess and acknowledge that exclusion to be just, as having merited it by my own fault and unworthiness; and I hereby oblige myself and swear in the presence of Almighty God, in unity of nature, and trinity of persons, as my supreme judge, to submit in all things to my father's will, never to set up a claim or pretension to the succession, or accept of it under any pretext whatever, acknowledging my brother, Peter Petrovich, as lawful successor to the crown. In testimony whereof, I kiss the holy cross, and sign these presents with my own hand, ALEXIS.

a successor to our throne of Great Russia. Nevertheless, we have seen with grief, that all attention and care for the education and instruction of our son proved ineffectual and useless, seeing he always swerved from his filial obedience, showing no application for what was becoming a worthy successor, and slighting the precepts of the masters we had appointed for him; but, on the contrary, frequenting disorderly persons, from whom he could learn nothing good, or that would be advantageous and useful to him. We have not neglected often to endeavor to reclaim, and bring him back to his duty, sometimes by caresses and gentle means, sometimes by reprimands, sometimes by paternal corrections. We have more than once taken him with us into our army and the field, that he might be instructed in the art of war, as one of the chief sciences for the defence of his country; guarding him, at the same time, from all hazard of the succession, though we exposed ourself to manifest perils and dangers. We have at other times left him at Moscow, putting into his hands a sort of regency in the empire, in order to form him in the art of government, and that he might learn how to reign after us. We have likewise sent him into foreign countries, in hopes and expectation, that seeing, in his travels, governments so well regulated, this would excite in him some emulation, and an inclination to apply himself to do well. But all our care has been fruitless, and like the seed of the doctrine fallen upon a rock; for he has not only refused to follow that which is good, but even is come to hate it, without showing any inclination, or disposition, either for military or political affairs, hourly and continually conversing with base and disorderly persons, whose morals are rude and abominable. As we were resolved to endeavor, by all imaginable means, to reclaim him from that disorderly course, and inspire him with an inclination to converse with persons of virtue and honor, we exhorted him to choose a consort among the chief foreign houses, as usual in other countries, and as hath been practised by our ancestors the czars of Russia, who have contracted alliances by marriages with other sovereign houses, and we have left him at liberty to make a choice. He declared his inclination for the princess, granddaughter of the duke of Wolfenbüttel then reigning, sister-in-law to his imperial majesty the emperor of the Romans now reigning, and cousin to the king of Great Britain; and having desired us to procure him that alliance, and permit him to marry that princess, we readily consented thereunto, without any regard to the great expense which was necessarily occasioned by that marriage. But, after its

consummation, we found ourselves disappointed of the hopes we had, that the change in the condition of our son would produce good fruits, and change in his bad inclinations; for, notwithstanding his spouse was, as far as we have been able to observe, a wise, sprightly princess, and of virtuous conduct, and that he himself had chosen her, he nevertheless lived with her in the greatest disunion, while he redoubled his affection for lewd people, bringing thereby a disgrace upon our house in the eyes of foreign powers to whom that princess was related, which drew upon us many complaints and reproaches. Our frequent advices and exhortations to him, to reform his conduct, proved ineffectual, and he at last violated the conjugal faith, and gave his affection to a prostitute of the most servile and low condition, living publicly in that crime with her, to the great contempt of his lawful spouse, who soon after died; and it was believed that her grief, occasioned by the disorderly life of her husband, hastened the end of her days. When we saw his resolution to persevere in his vicious courses, we declared to him, at the funeral of his consort, that if he did not for the future conform to our will, and apply himself to things becoming a prince, presumptive heir to so great an empire, we would deprive him of the succession, without any regard to his being our only son—our second son was not then born—and that he ought not to rely upon his being such, because we would rather choose for our successor a stranger worthy thereof, than an unworthy son; that we could not leave our empire to such a successor, who would ruin and destroy what we have, by God's assistance, established, and tarnish the glory and honor of the Russian nation, for the acquiring of which we had sacrificed our ease and our health, and willingly exposed our life on several occasions; besides, that the fear of God's judgment would not permit us to leave the government of such vast territories in the hands of one whose insufficiency and unworthiness we were not ignorant of. In short, we exhorted him in the most pressing terms we could make use of, to behave himself with discretion, and gave him time to repent and return to his duty. His answer to these remonstrances was, that he acknowledged himself guilty in all these points; but alleged the weakness of his parts and genius, which did not permit him to apply himself to the sciences, and other functions recommended to him; he owned himself incapable of our succession, and desired us to discharge him from the same. Nevertheless, we continued to exhort him with a paternal affection, and joining menaces to our exhortations, we forgot nothing to bring him back the right way. The operations of

the war having obliged us to repair to Denmark, we left him at St. Petersburg, to give him time to return to his duty, and amend his ways; and afterward, on the repeated advices we received of the continuance of his disorderly life, we sent him orders to come to us at Copenhagen, to make the campaign, that he might thereby the better form himself. But, forgetting the fear and commandments of God, who enjoins obedience even to private parents, and much more to those who are at the same time sovereigns, our paternal cares had no other return than unheard of ingratitude; for instead of coming to us as we ordered, he withdrew, with large sums of money, and his infamous concubine, with whom he continued to live in a criminal course, and put himself under the protection of the emperor, raising against us, his father and his lord, numberless calumnies and false reports, as if we did persecute him, and intended, without cause, to deprive him of the succession; alleging moreover, that even his life was not safe if he continued with us, and desired the emperor not only to give him refuge in his dominions, but also to protect him against us by force of arms. Every one may judge what shame and dishonor this conduct of our son hath drawn on us and our empire, in the face of the whole world; the like instance is hardly to be found in history. The emperor, though informed of his excesses, and how he had lived with his consort, sister-in-law to his imperial majesty, thought fit, however, on these pressing instances, to appoint him a place where he might reside; and he desired farther, that he might be so private there, that we might not come to the knowledge of it. Meanwhile his long stay having made us fear, out of a tender and fatherly affection for him, that some misfortune had befallen him, we sent persons several ways to get intelligence of him, and after a great deal of trouble, we were at last informed by the captain of our guard, Alexander Romanzoff, that he was privately kept in an imperial fortress in Tyrol; whereupon we wrote a letter, with our own hand, to the emperor, to desire that he might be sent back to us; but, notwithstanding the emperor acquainted him with our demands, and exhorted him to return to us, and submit to our will, as being his father and lord, yet he alleged, with a great many calumnies against us, that he ought not to be delivered into our hands, as if we had been his enemy and a tyrant, from whom he had nothing to expect but death. In short, he persuaded his imperial majesty, instead of sending him back at that time to us, to remove him to some remote place in his dominions, namely, Naples in Italy, and keep him secretly in the castle, under an assumed

name. Nevertheless, we having notice of the place where he was, did thereupon despatch to the emperor our privy counsellor, Peter Tolstoi, and the captain of our guard aforesaid, with a most pressing letter, representing how unjust it would be to detain our son, contrary to all laws, divine and human, according to which private parents, and with much more reason those who are besides invested with a sovereign authority as we are, have an unlimited power over their children, independently of any other judge; and we set forth on one side, the just and affectionate manner with which we had always used our son, and on the other, his disobedience, representing in the conclusion, the ill-consequences and animosities which the refusal of delivering up our son to us might occasion, because we could not leave this affair in that condition. We, at the same time, ordered those we sent with that letter, to make verbal remonstrances even in more pressing terms, and to declare that we should be obliged to revenge, by all possible methods, such detaining of our son. We wrote likewise a letter to him with our own hand, to represent to him the horror and impiety of his conduct, and the enormity of the crime he had committed against us, his father, and how God threatened in His laws to punish disobedient children with eternal death; we threatened him, as a father, with our curses, and, as his lord, to declare him a traitor to his country, unless he returned, and obeyed our commands; and gave him assurance, that if he did as we desired, and returned, we would pardon his crime. Our envoys, after many solicitations, and the above representation made by us in writing, at last obtained leave of the emperor to go and speak to our son, in order to dispose him to return home. The imperial minister gave them at the same time to understand, that our son had informed the emperor that we persecuted him, and that his life was not safe with us, whereby he moved the emperor's compassion, and induced him to take him into his protection; but that the emperor, taking now into his consideration our true and solid representations, promised to use his utmost endeavors to dispose him to return to us; and would moreover declare to him, that he could not in justice and equity refuse to deliver him to his father, or have any difference with us on that account. Our envoys, on their arrival at Naples, having desired to deliver to him our letter, written with our hand, sent us word, that he did refuse to admit them; but that the emperor's viceroy had found means, by inviting him to his house, to present them to him afterward, much against his will. He did then, indeed, receive our letter, containing our paternal exhortation,

and threatening our curse, but without showing the least inclination to return; alleging still a great many falsities and calumnies against us, as if, by reason of several dangers he had to apprehend from us, he could not, nor would not, return; and boasting, that the emperor had not only promised to defend and protect him against us, but even to set him upon the throne of Russia against our will, by force of arms. Our envoys perceiving this evil disposition, tried all imaginable ways to prevail with him to return; they entreated him, they expatiated by turns upon the graciousness of our assurances toward him, and upon our threats in case of disobedience, and that we would even bring him away by force of arms; they declared to him, that the emperor would not enter into a war with us on his account, and many other such like representations did they make to him. But he paid no regard to all this, nor showed any inclination to return to us, until the imperial viceroy, convinced at last of his obstinacy, told him, in the emperor's name, that he ought to return; for that his imperial majesty could not by any law keep him from us, nor, during the present war with Turkey, and also in Italy with Spain, embroil himself with us on his account. When he saw how the case stood, fearing he should be delivered up to us whether he would or not, he at length resolved to return home; and declared his mind to our envoys, and to the imperial viceroy; he likewise wrote the same thing to us, acknowledging himself to be a criminal, and blameworthy. Now although our son, by so long a course of criminal disobedience against us, his father and lord, for many years, and particularly for the dishonor he hath cast on us in the face of the world, by withdrawing himself, and raising calumnies against us, as if we were an unnatural father, and for opposing his sovereign, hath deserved to be punished with death; yet our paternal affection inclines us to have mercy on him, and we therefore pardon his crimes, and exempt him from all punishment for the same. But considering his unworthiness, we cannot in conscience leave him after us the succession to the throne of Russia; foreseeing that, by his vicious courses, he would entirely destroy the glory of our nation and the safety of our dominions, which, through God's assistance, we have acquired and established by incessant application; for it is notorious and known to everyone, how much it hath cost us, and with what efforts we have not only recovered the provinces which the enemy had usurped from our empire, but also conquered several considerable towns and countries, and with what care we have caused our people to be instructed in all sorts of civil

and military sciences, to the glory and advantage of the nation and empire. Now, as we should pity our states and faithful subjects, if, by such a successor, we should throw them back into a much worse condition than ever they were yet; so, by the paternal authority, in virtue of which, by the laws of our empire, any of our subjects may disinherit a son, and give his succession to such other of his sons as he pleases; and, in quality of sovereign prince, in consideration of the safety of our dominions, we do deprive our said son Alexis, for his crimes and unworthiness, of the succession after us to the throne of Russia, even though there should not remain one single person of our family after us. And we do constitute and declare successor to the said throne after us, our second son, Peter, though yet very young, having no successor that is older. We lay on our said son Alexis our paternal curse, if ever at any time he pretends to, or reclaims, the said succession; and we desire our faithful subjects, whether ecclesiastics, or seculars, of all ranks and conditions, and the whole Russian nation, in conformity to this constitution and our will, to acknowledge and consider our said son Peter, appointed by our constitution, to confirm the whole by oath, before the holy altar, upon the holy gospel, kissing the cross; and all those who shall ever, at any time, oppose this our will, and who, from this day forward, shall dare to consider our son Alexis, as successor, or to assist him for that purpose, declare them traitors to us and their country. And we have ordered that these presents shall be everywhere published and promulgated, to the end that no person may pretend ignorance. Given at Moscow, the third of February, 1718, signed with our hand, and sealed with our seal. PETER.

Peter himself had repudiated his own wife in favor of a captive, but that captive was a person of exemplary merit, and the czar had just cause for expressing dissatisfaction with his wife, who was at the same time his subject. The czarevitch, on the contrary, had abandoned his princess for a young woman hardly known to any one, and who had no other merit but that of personal charms. So far there appear some errors of a young man, which a

parent ought to reprimand in secret, and which he might have pardoned.

The czar reproaches his son with his flight to Vienna, and his having put himself under the emperor's protection; and adds, that he had calumniated his father, by telling the emperor that he was persecuted by him; and that he had compelled him to renounce the succession; and lastly, that he had made intercession with the emperor to assist him with an armed force.

Here it seems that the emperor could not, with any propriety, have entered into a war with the czar on such an occasion; nor could he have interposed between an incensed father and a disobedient son otherwise than by his good offices, to promote a reconciliation. Accordingly we find, that Charles VI. contented himself with giving a temporary asylum to the fugitive prince, and readily sent him back on the first requisition of the czar, in consequence of being informed of the place his son had chosen for his retreat.

Peter adds, in this terrible manifesto, that Alexis had persuaded the emperor that he went in danger of his life, if he returned to Russia. Surely it was in some measure justifying these complaints of the prince, to condemn him to death at his return, and especially after so solemn a promise to pardon him; but we shall see in the course of this history the cause which afterward moved the czar to pronounce this ever-memorable sentence.

It would seem that this declaration had been pre-

pared beforehand for the occasion, or that it had been drawn up with amazing despatch; for the czarevitch did not return to Moscow till February 13th, and his renunciation in favor of Empress Catherine's son is dated the next day.

The prince on his part signed his renunciation, whereby he acknowledges his exclusion to be just, as having merited it by his own fault and unworthiness, swears in presence of God Almighty, in the Holy Trinity, to submit in all things to his father's will.

These instruments being signed, the czar went in procession to the cathedral, where they were read a second time, when the whole body of clergy signed their approbation with their seals at the bottom, to a copy prepared for that purpose.* No prince was ever disinherited in so authentic a manner. There are many states in which an act of this kind would

*At the same time confirming it by an oath, the form of which was as follows: "I swear before Almighty God, and upon His Holy Gospel, that whereas our most gracious sovereign, Czar Peter Alexeievich, has caused circular letters to be published through his empire, to notify that he has thought fit to exclude his son, Prince Alexis Petrovich from the throne of Russia, and to appoint for his successor to the crown his second son, the prince royal, Peter Petrovich; I do acknowledge this order and regulation made by his majesty in favor of the said Prince Peter Petrovich to be just and lawful, and entirely conform and submit myself to the same; promising always to acknowledge the said prince royal, Peter Petrovich, for his lawful successor, and to stand by him on all occasions; even to the loss of my life, against all such as shall presume to oppose the said succession; and that I never will, on any pretence whatsoever, assist the prince Alexis Petrovich, nor in any manner whatsoever contribute to procure him the succession. And this I solemnly promise by my oath upon the Holy Gospel, kissing the holy cross thereupon."

be of no validity; but in Russia, as in ancient Rome, every father has a power of depriving his son of his succession, and this power was still stronger in a sovereign than in a private subject, and especially in such a sovereign as Peter.

But, nevertheless, it was to be apprehended that those who had encouraged the prince in his opposition to his father's will, and had advised him to withdraw himself from his court, might one day endeavor to set aside a renunciation which had been procured by force, and restore to the eldest son that crown which had been violently snatched from him to be placed on the head of a younger brother by a second marriage. In this case it was easy to foresee a civil war, and a total subversion of all the great and useful projects which Peter had labored to establish; and therefore the present matter in question was to determine between the welfare of nearly eighteen millions of souls—which was nearly the number that the empire of Russia contained at that time—and the interests of a single person incapable of governing. Hence it became necessary to find out those who were disaffected, and accordingly the czar a second time threatened his son with the most fatal consequences if he concealed anything: and the prince was obliged to undergo a juridical examination by his father, and afterward by the commissioners appointed for that purpose.

One principal article of the charge brought against him, and that which served chiefly to his condemnation, was a letter from one Beyer, the emperor's resident at the court of Russia, dated at

St. Petersburg, after the flight of the prince. This letter makes mention of a mutiny in the Russian army then assembled at Mecklenburg, and that several of the officers talked of putting Catherine and her son in the prison where the late empress, whom Peter had repudiated, was then confined, and of placing the czarevitch on the throne as soon as he could be found out and brought back. These idle projects fell to the ground of themselves, and there was not the least appearance that Alexis had ever countenanced them. The whole was only a piece of news related by a foreigner: the letter itself was not directed to the prince, and he had only a copy thereof transmitted him while at Vienna.

But a charge of a more grievous nature appeared against him, namely, the heads of a letter written with his own hand, and which he had sent while at the court of Vienna, to the senators and prelates of Russia, in which were the following very strong assertions: "The continual ill-treatment which I have suffered without having deserved it has at length obliged me to consult my peace and safety by flight. I have narrowly escaped being confined in a convent, by those who have already served my mother in the same manner. I am now under the protection of a great prince, and I beseech you not to abandon me in this conjuncture."

The expression, "in this conjuncture," which might be construed into a seditious meaning, appeared to have been blotted out, and then inserted again by his own hand, and afterward blotted out a second time; which showed it to be the action of a

young man disturbed in his mind, following the dictates of his resentment, and repenting of it at the very instant. There were only the copies of these letters found: they were never sent to the persons they were designed for, the court of Vienna having taken care to stop them; a convincing proof that the emperor never intended to break with the czar, or to assist the son to take arms against his father.

Several witnesses were brought to confront the prince, and one of them, named Afanassief, deposed that he had formerly heard him speak these words, "I shall mention something to the bishops, who will mention it again to the lower clergy, and they to the parish priests, and the crown will be placed on my head whether I will or not."

His own mistress, Aphrosyne, was also brought to give evidence against him. The charge, however, was not well supported in all its parts; there did not appear to have been any regular plan formed, any chain of intrigues, or anything like a conspiracy or combination, nor the least shadow of preparation for a change in the government. The whole affair was that of a son, of a depraved and factious disposition, who thought himself injured by his father, who fled from him, and who wished for his death; but this son was heir to the greatest monarchy in our hemisphere, and in his situation and place he could not be guilty of trivial faults.

After the accusation of his mistress, another witness was brought against him, in relation to the former czarina, his mother, and the princess Mary, his sister. He was charged with having consulted

the former in regard to his flight, and of having mentioned it to the princess Mary. The bishop of Rostoff, who was the confidant of all three, having been seized, deposed that the two princesses, who were then shut up in a convent, had expressed their wishes for a revolution in affairs that might restore them their liberty, and had even encouraged the prince by their advice, to withdraw himself from the kingdom. The more natural their resentment was, the more it was to be apprehended. We shall see at the end of this chapter, what kind of a person this bishop of Rostoff was, and what had been his conduct.

The czarevitch at first denied several facts of this nature which were alleged against him, and by this very behavior subjected himself to the punishment of death with which his father had threatened him, in case he did not make an open and sincere confession.

At last, however, he acknowledged several disrespectful expressions against his father, which were laid to his charge, but excused himself by saying that he had been carried away by passion and drink.

The czar himself drew up several new interrogations. The fourth ran as follows:

"When you found by Beyer's letter that there was a mutiny among the troops in Mecklenburg, you seemed pleased with it; you must certainly have had some reason for it; and I imagine you would have joined the rebels even during my lifetime."

This was interrogating the prince on the subject of his private thoughts, which, though they might

be revealed to a father, who may, by his advice, correct them, yet might with justice be concealed from a judge, who decides only from acknowledged facts. The private sentiments of a man's heart have nothing to do in a criminal process, and the prince was at liberty either to deny them or disguise them, in such manner as he should think best for his own safety, as being under no obligation to lay open his heart, and yet we find him returning the following answer: "If the rebels had called upon me during your lifetime, I do verily believe I should have joined them, supposing I had found them sufficiently strong."

It is hardly conceivable that he could have made this reply of himself, and it would be fully as extraordinary, at least according to the custom in our part of the world, to condemn a person for confessing that he might have thought in a certain manner in a conjuncture that never happened.

To this strange confession of his private thoughts, which had till then been concealed in the bottom of his heart, they added proofs which would hardly be admitted as such in a court of justice in any other country.

The prince, sinking under his misfortunes, and almost deprived of his senses, studied within himself, with all the ingenuity of fear, for whatever could most effectually serve for his destruction; and at length acknowledged, that in private confession to the archpriest James he had wished his father dead; and that his confessor made answer, "God will pardon you this wish; we all wish the same."

The canons of our Church do not admit of proofs resulting from private confession, inasmuch as they are held inviolable secrets between God and the penitent: and both the Greek and Latin Churches are agreed that this intimate and secret correspondence between a sinner and the Deity are beyond the cognizance of a temporal court of justice. But here the welfare of a kingdom and a king were concerned. The archpriest, being put to the torture, confirmed all that the prince had revealed; and this trial furnished the unprecedented instance of a confessor accused by his penitent, and that penitent by his own mistress. To this may be added another singular circumstance, namely, that the archbishop of Ryazan having been involved in several accusations on account of having spoken too favorably of the young czarevitch in one of his sermons, at the time that his father's resentment first broke out against him; that weak prince declared in his answer to one of the interrogations, that he had depended on the assistance of that prelate, at the same time that he was at the head of the ecclesiastical court, which the czar had consulted in relation to this criminal process against his son, as we shall see in the course of this chapter.

There is another remark to be made in this extraordinary trial, which we find so very lamely related in the absurd history of Peter the Great, by the pretended boyar, Nestersuranoy, and that is the following:

Among other answers which the czarevitch made to the first question put to him by his father, he

acknowledges that, while he was at Vienna, finding he could not be admitted to see the emperor, he applied himself to Count Schonborn, the high chamberlain, who told him that the emperor would not abandon him, and that as soon as occasion should offer by the death of his father, he would assist him to recover the throne by force of arms. Upon which, adds the prince, I made him the following answer: "This is what I by no means desire: if the emperor will only grant me his protection for the present, I ask no more." This deposition is plain, natural, and carries with it strong marks of the truth; for it would have been the height of madness to ask the emperor for an armed force to dethrone his father, and no one would have ventured to have made such an absurd proposal, either to the emperor, Prince Eugene, or the council. This deposition bears date in the month of February, and four months afterward, namely, after July 1st, and toward the latter part of the proceedings against the czarevitch, that prince is made to say, in the last answers he delivered in writing:

"Being unwilling to imitate my father in anything, I endeavored to secure to myself the succession by any means whatever, *excepting such as were just.* I attempted to get it by foreign assistance; and had I succeeded, and had the emperor fulfilled *what he had promised me,* to replace me on the throne of Russia even by force of arms, I would have left nothing undone to get possession of it. For instance, if the emperor had demanded of me in return for his services, a body of my own troops

to fight for him against any power whatever that might be in arms against him, or a large sum of money to defray the charges of a war, I should have readily granted everything that he asked, and should have gratified his ministers and generals with magnificent presents. I would at my own expense have maintained the auxiliary troops he might have furnished to put me in possession of the crown; and, in a word, I should have thought nothing too much to have accomplished my ends."

This answer seems greatly strained, and appears as if the unhappy deponent was exerting his utmost efforts to appear more culpable than he really was; nay, he seems to have spoken absolutely contrary to truth in a capital point. He says the emperor had promised to procure him the crown by force of arms. This is absolutely false: Schonborn had given him hopes that, after the death of his father, the emperor might assist him to recover his birthright; but the emperor himself never made him any promise. And lastly, the matter in question was not whether he should take arms against his father, but whether he should succeed him after his death.

By this last deposition he declares what he believes he would have done, had he been obliged to dispute his birthright, which he had not formally renounced till after his journey to Vienna and Naples. Here then we have a second deposition, not of anything he had already done, and the actual commission of which would have subjected him to the rigorous inquiry of the law, but of what he

imagines he should have done had occasion offered, and which consequently is no subject of a juridical inquiry. Thus does he twice accuse himself of private thoughts that he might have entertained in a future time. The known world does not produce an instance of a man tried and condemned for vague and inconsequential notions that came into his head, and which he never communicated to anyone: nor is there a court of justice in Europe that will hear a man accuse himself of criminal thoughts, nay, we believe that they are not punished by God himself, unless accompanied by a fixed resolution to put them in practice.

To these natural reflections it may be answered that the czarevitch had given his father a just right to punish him, by having withheld the names of several of the accomplices of his flight. His pardon was promised only on condition of his making a full and open confession, which he did not till it was too late. Lastly, after so public an affair, it was not in human nature that Alexis should ever forgive a brother in favor of whom he had been disinherited; therefore it was thought better to punish one guilty person, than to expose a whole nation to danger, and herein the rigor of justice and reasons of state acted in concert.

We must not judge of the manners and laws of one nation by those of others. The czar was possessed of the fatal, but incontestable right of punishing his son with death, for the single crime of having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom without

permission; and he thus explains himself in his declaration addressed to the prelates and others, who composed the high courts of justice.

"Though, according to all laws, civil and divine, and especially those of this empire, which grant an absolute jurisdiction to fathers over their children—even fathers in private life—we have a full and unlimited power to judge our son for his crimes according to our pleasure, without asking the advice of any person whatsoever; yet, as men are more liable to prejudice and partiality in their own affairs, than in those of others, and as the most eminent and expert physicians rely not on their own judgment concerning themselves, but call in the advice and assistance of others, so we, under the fear of God, and an awful dread of offending Him, in like manner make known our disease, and apply to you for a cure; being apprehensive of eternal death, if, ignorant perhaps of the nature of our distemper, we should attempt to cure ourselves; and the rather, as in a solemn appeal to Almighty God, I have signed, sworn, and confirmed a promise of pardon to my son, in case he should declare to me the truth.

"And though he has violated this promise, by concealing the most important circumstances of his rebellious design against us; yet, that we may not in anything swerve from our obligations, we pray you to consider this affair with seriousness and attention, and report what punishment he deserves without favor or partiality either to him or me; for should you apprehend that he deserves but a slight punishment, it will be disagreeable to me. I swear

to you by the great God and his judgments, that you have nothing to fear on this head.

"Neither let the reflection of your having to pass sentence on the son of your prince have any influence on you, but administer justice without respect to persons, and destroy not your own souls and mine also, by doing anything to injure our country, or upbraid our consciences in the great and terrible day of judgment."

The czar afterward addressed himself to the clergy,* in another declaration to the same purpose, so that everything was transacted in the most authentic manner, and Peter's behavior through the whole of this affair was so open and undisguised as to show that he was fully satisfied of the justice of his cause.

On July 1st the clergy delivered their opinion in

*His declaration to the clergy concluded in this manner: "Though this affair does not fall within the verge of the spiritual, but of the civil jurisdiction, and we have this day referred it to the imperial decision of the secular court, but remembering that passage in the word of God which requires us on such occasions to consult the priests and elders of the Church, in order to know the will of heaven, and being desirous of receiving all possible instruction in a matter of such importance, we desire of you, the archbishops, and the whole ecclesiastical state, as teachers of the word of God, not to pronounce judgment in this case, but to examine and give us your opinion, concerning it, according to the sacred oracles, from whom we may be best informed what punishment my son deserves, and that you will give it us in writing under your hands, that being properly instructed herein, we may lay no burden on our conscience. We therefore repose our confidence in you, that, as guardians of the divine laws, as faithful pastors of the Christian flock, and as well affected toward your country, you will act suitably to your dignity, conjuring you by that dignity, and the holiness of your function, to proceed without fear or dissimulation."

writing. In fact, it was their opinion only, and not a judgment, that the czar required of them. The beginning is deserving of the attention of all Europe.

"This affair"—say the prelates and the rest of the clergy—"does in no wise fall within the verge of the ecclesiastical court, nor is the absolute power vested in the sovereign of the Russian Empire subject to the cognizance of his people; but he has an unlimited power of acting herein as to him shall seem best, without any inferior having a right to intermeddle."

After their preamble they proceed to cite several texts of Scripture, particularly Leviticus, wherein it is said, "Cursed be he that curseth his father or mother"; and the Gospel of St. Matthew, which repeats this severe denunciation. And they concluded, after several other quotations, with these remarkable words:

"If his majesty is inclinable to punish the offender according to his deeds and the measure of his crimes, he has before him the examples in the Old Testament; if, on the other hand, he is inclined to show mercy, he has a pattern in our Lord Jesus Christ, who receives the prodigal son, when returning with a contrite heart, who sets free the woman taken in adultery, whom the law sentenced to be stoned to death, and who prefers mercy to burnt offerings. He has likewise the example of David, who spared his son Absalom who had rebelled against and persecuted him, saying to his captains when going forth to the fight, 'spare my son Absalom.' The father was here inclinable to mercy, but

divine justice suffered not the offender to go unpunished.

"The heart of the czar is in the hands of God; let Him take that side to which it shall please the Almighty to direct him."

This opinion was signed by eight archbishops and bishops, four archpriests, and two professors of divinity; and, as we have already observed, the metropolitan archbishop of Ryazan, with whom the prince had held a correspondence, was the first who signed.

As soon as the clergy had signed this opinion they presented it to the czar. It is easy to perceive that this body was desirous of directing his mind to clemency; and nothing can be more beautiful than the contrast between the mercy of Jesus Christ, and the rigor of the Jewish law, placed before the eyes of a father who was the prosecutor of his own son.

The same day the czarevitch was again examined for the last time, and signed his final confession in writing, wherein he acknowledged himself "to have been a bigot in his youthful days, to have frequented the company of priests and monks, to have drunk with them, and to have imbibed from their conversations the first impressions of dislike to the duties of his station, and even to the person of his father."

If he made this confession of his own accord, it shows that he must have been ignorant of the mild advice that the body of clergy whom he thus accuses had lately given his father; and it is still stronger proof of how great a change the czar had wrought in the manners of the clergy of his time,

who, from a state of the most deplorable ignorance, had in so short a time become capable of drawing up an instrument which, for its wisdom and eloquence, might have been owned without a blush by the most illustrious fathers of the Church.

It is in this last confession that the czarevitch made that declaration on which we have already commented; that he endeavored to secure to himself the succession "by any means whatever, except such as were just."

One would imagine, by this last confession, that the prince was apprehensive that he had not rendered himself sufficiently criminal in the eyes of his judges, by his former self-accusations, and that, by giving himself the character of a dissembler and a bad man, and supposing how he might have acted had he been the master, he was carefully studying how to justify the fatal sentence which was about to be pronounced upon him, and which was done on July 5th. This sentence will be found, at length, at the end of this volume; therefore we shall only observe in this place, that it begins like the opinion of the clergy, by declaring, that "it belongs not to subjects to take cognizance of such an affair, which depends solely on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose authority is derived from God alone"; and then, after having set forth the several articles of the charge brought against the prince, the judges express themselves thus: "What shall we think of a rebellious design, almost unparalleled in history, joined to that of a horrid parricide, against him who was his father in a double capacity?"

Probably these words have been wrongly translated, from the trial printed by order of the czar; for certainly there have been instances in history of much greater rebellions; and no part of the proceedings against the czarevitch discover any design in him of killing his father. Perhaps, by the word "parricide," is understood the deposition made by the prince, that one day he declared at confession that he had wished for the death of his father. But, how can a private declaration of a secret thought, under the seal of confession, be a double parricide?

Be this as it may, the czarevitch was unanimously condemned to die, but no mention was made in the sentence of the manner in which he was to suffer. Of one hundred and forty-four judges, there was not one who thought of a lesser punishment than death; whereas, an English tract, which secured much attention at that time, observes that if such a cause had been brought before an English parliament, there would not have been one judge out of one hundred and forty-four that would have inflicted even a penalty.

There cannot be a stronger proof of the difference of times and places. The consul Manlius would have been condemned by the laws of England to lose his own life for having put his son to death; whereas he was admired and extolled for that action by the rigid Romans; but the same laws would not punish a prince of Wales for leaving the kingdom, who, as a peer of the realm, has a right to go and come when he pleases. A criminal design, not perpetrated, is not punishable by the laws in

England or France, but it is in Russia. A continued formal and repeated disobedience of commands would, among us, be considered only an error in conduct, which should be suppressed; but, in Russia, it was judged a capital crime in the heir of a great empire, whose ruin might have been the consequence of that disobedience. Lastly, the czarevitch was culpable toward the whole nation, by his design of throwing it back into that state of darkness and ignorance from which his father had so lately delivered it.

Such was the acknowledged power of the czar, that he might put his son to death for disobedience to him, without consulting anyone; nevertheless, he submitted the affair to the judgment of the representatives of the nation, so that it was in fact the nation itself which passed sentence on the prince, and Peter was so well satisfied with the equity of his own conduct that he voluntarily submitted it to the judgment of every other nation, by causing the whole proceedings to be printed and translated into several languages.

The law of history would not permit us to disguise or palliate anything in the relation of this tragical event. All Europe was divided in its sentiments, whether to pity most a young prince, prosecuted by his own father and condemned to lose his life, by those who were one day to have been his subjects; or the father, who thought himself under the necessity of sacrificing his own son to the welfare of his nation.

It was asserted in several books published on this

subject that the czar sent to Spain for a copy of the proceedings against Don Carlos, who had been condemned to death by his father, King Charles II. But this is false, inasmuch as Don Carlos was never brought to trial, and the conduct of Peter I. was totally different from that of Philip. The Spanish monarch never made known to the world the reasons for which he had confined his son, nor in what manner that prince died. He wrote letters on this occasion to the pope and the empress, which were absolutely contradictory to each other. William, Prince of Orange, accused Philip publicly of having sacrificed his son and his wife to his jealousy, and of having behaved rather like a jealous and cruel husband, and an unnatural and murderous father, than a severe and upright judge. Philip suffered this accusation against him to pass unanswered: Peter, on the contrary, did nothing but in the eye of the world; he openly declared that he preferred his people to his own son, submitted his cause to the judgment of the principal persons of his kingdom, and made the whole world the judge of their proceedings and his own.

There was another extraordinary circumstance attending this unhappy affair, which was that the empress Catherine, who was hated by the czarevitch, and whom he had publicly threatened with the worst of treatment, whenever he should mount the throne, was not in any way accessory to his misfortunes; and was neither accused, nor even suspected by any foreign minister residing at the court of Russia, of having taken the least step against a stepson,

from whom she had so much to fear. It is true, indeed, that no one pretends to say she interceded with the czar for his pardon: but all the accounts of these times, and especially those of Count de Bassewitz, agree, that she was greatly affected by his misfortunes.

I have now before me the memoirs of a public minister, in which I find the following words: "I was present when the czar told the duke of Holstein that the czarina Catherine had begged of him to prevent the sentence passed upon the czarevitch being publicly read to that prince. 'Content yourself,' said she, 'with obliging him to turn monk; for this public and formal condemnation of your son will reflect an odium on your grandson.' "

The czar, however, would not hearken to the intercession of his spouse; he thought it was necessary to have the sentence publicly read to the prince himself, in order that he might have no pretence left to dispute this solemn act, in which he himself acquiesced, and that being dead in law, he could never after claim a right to the crown.

Nevertheless, if, after the death of Peter, a formidable party had arisen in favor of Alexis, would his being dead in law have prevented him from ascending the throne?

The prince then had his sentence read to him; and the memoirs I have just mentioned observe that he fell into a fit on hearing these words: "The laws, divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, condemn to death, without mercy, those whose attempts against their father and their sovereign have been

fully proved." These fits, it is said, turned to an apoplexy, and it was with great difficulty he was resuscitated at that time. Afterward, when revived somewhat, and in the dreadful interval between life and death, he sent for his father to come to him: the czar accordingly went, and both father and son burst into a flood of tears. The unhappy culprit asked his offended parent's forgiveness, which he gave him publicly: then being in the agonies of death, extreme unction was administered to him in the most solemn manner, and soon after he expired in the presence of the whole court, the day after the fatal sentence had been pronounced upon him. His body was immediately carried to the cathedral, where it lay in state, exposed to public view for four days, after which it was interred in the church of the citadel, by the side of his late princess; the czar and czarina assisting at the funeral.

And here I think myself obliged to imitate, in some measure, the conduct of the czar, that is, to submit to the judgment of the public the several facts which I have related with the most scrupulous exactness, and not only the facts themselves, but likewise the various reports which were propagated in relation to them, by authors of the highest credit. Lamberti, the most impartial writer on this subject, and at the same time the most exact, and who has confined himself to the simple narrative of the original and authentic pieces relating to the affairs of Europe, seems in this matter to have departed from that impartiality and discernment for which he is so remarkable; for he thus expresses himself:

"The czarina, ever anxious for the fortune of her own son, did not suffer the czar to rest till she had obliged him to commence the proceedings against the czarevitch, and to prosecute that unhappy prince to death; and what is still more extraordinary, the czar, after having given him the knout—which is a kind of torture—with his own hand, was himself his executioner, by cutting off his head, which was afterward so artfully joined to the body, that the separation could not be perceived, when it was exposed to public view. Some little time afterward, the czarina's son died, to her and the czar's inexpressible regret. This latter, who had beheaded his own son, coming now to reflect that he had no successor, grew extremely ill-tempered. Much about that time also, he was informed that his spouse, the czarina, was engaged in a secret and criminal correspondence with Prince Menshikoff. This, joined to the reflection that she had been the cause of his putting to death with his own hand his eldest son, made him conceive a design to strip her of the imperial honors, and shut her up in a convent, in the same manner as he had done his first wife, who is still living there. It was a custom with the czar to keep a kind of diary of his private thoughts in his pocketbook, and he had accordingly entered therein, a memorandum of this his intention. The czarina having found means to gain over to her interest all the pages of the czar's bedchamber, one of them finding his pocketbook, which he had carelessly left on the table, brought it to Catherine, who, upon reading this memorandum, immediately sent for

Prince Menshikoff and communicated it to him, and, in a day or two afterward, the czar was seized with a violent distemper, of which he died. This distemper was attributed to poison, on account of its being so sudden and violent that it could not be supposed to proceed from a natural cause, and that the horrible act of poisoning was but too frequently used in Russia."

These accusations, thus handed down by Lamberti, were soon spread throughout Europe; and, as there still exist a great number of articles, both in print and manuscript, which may give a sanction to the belief of this fact by posterity, I think it is my duty to mention, in this place, what has come to my knowledge from unexceptionable authority.

In the first place, then, I take it upon me to declare that the person who furnished Lamberti with this strange anecdote was, in fact, a native of Russia but of foreign extraction, and who did not reside in that country at the time this event happened, having left it several years before. I was formerly acquainted with him; he had been in company with Lamberti at the little town of Nyon, whither that writer had retired, and where I myself have often been. This very man declared to me that he had never told this story to Lamberti but in the light of a report which had been handed about at that time.

This example may suffice to show how easy it was in former times, before the art of printing was found out, for one man to destroy the reputation of another in the minds of whole nations, because manu-

script histories were in a few hands only, and not exposed to general examination and censure, or to the observations of contemporaries, as they now are. A single line in Tacitus, or Sallust, nay, even in the authors of the most fabulous legends, was enough to render a great prince odious to the half of mankind, and to perpetuate his name with infamy to successive generations.

How was it possible that the czar could have beheaded his son with his own hand, when extreme unction was administered to the latter in the presence of the whole court? Was he dead when the sacred oil was poured upon his head? When or how could this dissevered head have been rejoined to its trunk? It is notorious that the prince was not left alone a single moment from the first reading of his sentence to him till the instant of his death.

Besides, this story of the czar's having had recourse to the sword acquits him at least of having made use of poison. I will admit that it is somewhat uncommon that a young man in the vigor of his days should die of sudden fright, occasioned by hearing the sentence of his own death read to him, and especially when it was a sentence that he expected; but, after all, physicians will tell us that this is not a thing impossible.

If the czar despatched his son by poison, as so many authors would persuade us, he by that means deprived himself of every advantage he might expect from his fatal process in convincing all Europe that he had a right to punish every delinquent. He rendered all the reasons for pronouncing the con-

demnation of the czarevitch suspected; and, in fact, accused himself. If he was desirous of the death of his son, he was in possession of full power to cause the sentence to be put in execution; would a man of any prudence then, would a sovereign, on whom the eyes of all his neighbors were fixed, have taken the base and dastardly method of poisoning the person over whose devoted head he himself already held the sword of justice? Lastly, would he have suffered his memory to be transmitted to posterity as an assassin and a poisoner, when he could so easily have assumed the character of an upright, though severe, judge?

It appears, then, from all that has been delivered on this subject in the preceding pages, that Peter was more the king than the parent; and that he sacrificed his own son to the sentiments of the father and lawgiver of his country, and to the interest of his people, who, without this wholesome severity, were on the verge of relapsing again into that state from which he had taken them. It is evident that he did not sacrifice this son to the ambition of a stepmother, or to the son he had by her, since he had often threatened the czarevitch to disinherit him before Catherine brought him that other son, whose infirm infancy gave signs of a speedy death, which actually happened in a very short time. Had Peter taken this important step merely to please his wife, he must have been a fool, a madman, or a coward; neither of which, most certainly, could be laid to his charge. But he foresaw what would be the fate of his establishments and of his new-born

nation if he had such a successor as would not adopt his views. The event has verified this foresight; the Russian Empire has become famous and respectable throughout Europe, from which it was before entirely separated; whereas, had the czarevitch succeeded to the throne, everything would have been destroyed. In fine, when this catastrophe comes to be seriously considered, the compassionate heart shudders, and the rigid applauds.

This great and terrible event is still fresh in the memories of mankind; and it is frequently spoken of as a matter of so much surprise that it is absolutely necessary to examine what contemporary writers have said of it. One of these hireling scribblers, who has taken on him the title of historian, speaks thus of it in a work which he has dedicated to Count von Brühl, prime minister to his Polish majesty, whose name indeed may seem to give some weight to what he advances: "Russia was convinced that the czarevitch owed his death to poison, which had been given him by his stepmother." But this accusation is overturned by the declaration which the czar made to the duke of Holstein, that the empress Catherine had advised him to confine his son in a monastery.

With regard to the poison which the empress is said to have afterward given to her husband, that story is sufficiently destroyed by the simple relation of the affair of the page and pocketbook. What man would think of making such a memorandum as this: "I must remember to confine my wife in a convent"? Is this a circumstance of so trivial a

nature that it must be set down lest it should be forgotten? If Catherine had poisoned her stepson and her husband, she would have committed crimes; whereas so far from being suspected of cruelty, she had a remarkable character for lenity and sweetness of temper.

It may now be proper to show what was the first cause of the behavior of the czarevitch, of his flight, and of his death, and that of his accomplices who fell by the hands of the executioner. It was owing to mistaken notions in religion, and to a superstitious fondness for priests and monks. That this was the real source whence all his misfortunes were derived, is sufficiently apparent from his own confession, which we have already set before the reader, and in particular by that expression of the czar in his letter to his unhappy son: "A corrupt priesthood will be able to turn you at pleasure."

The following is almost word for word the manner in which a certain ambassador to the court of Russia explains these words. Several ecclesiastics, says he, fond of the ancient barbarous customs, and regretting the authority they had lost by the nation having become more civilized, wished earnestly to see Prince Alexis on the throne, from whose known disposition they expected a return of those days of ignorance and superstition which were so dear to them. Among these was Dozitheus, bishop of Rostoff. This prelate feigned a revelation from St. Demetrius, saying that the saint had appeared to him, and had assured him as from God himself that the czar would not live above three months; that the

empress Eudocia, who was then confined in the convent of Susdal—and had taken the veil under the name of Sister Helena—and Princess Mary, the czar's sister, should ascend the throne and reign jointly with Prince Alexis. Eudocia and Princess Mary were weak enough to credit this imposture, and were even so persuaded of the truth of the prediction that the former quitted her habit and the convent, and throwing aside the name of Sister Helena, resumed the imperial title and the ancient dress of czarina, and caused the name of her rival Catherine to be struck out of the form of prayer. And when the lady abbess of the convent opposed these proceedings, Eudocia answered her haughtily, that "as Peter had punished the strelitzes who had insulted his mother, in like manner would Prince Alexis punish those who had offered an indignity to his. She caused the abbess to be confined to her apartment. An officer named Stephen Glebo was introduced into the convent; this man Eudocia made use of as the instrument of her designs, having previously won him over to her interest by heaping favors on him. Glebo caused Dozitheus's prediction to be spread over the little town of Susdal and the neighborhood thereof. But the three months having almost expired, Eudocia reproached the bishop with the czar's being still alive. "My father's sins," answered Dozitheus, "have been the cause of this; he is still in purgatory, and has acquainted me therewith." Upon this Eudocia caused a thousand masses for the dead to be said, Dozitheus assuring her that this would not fail of having the desired

effect; but in about a month afterward he came to her and told her that his father's head was already out of purgatory; in a month afterward he was freed as far as his waist, so that then he only stuck in purgatory by his feet; but as soon as they should be set free, which was the most difficult part of the business, the czar would certainly die.

The princess Mary, persuaded by Dozitheus, gave herself up to him, on condition that his father should be immediately released from purgatory and the prediction accomplished, and Glebo continued his usual correspondence with the old czarina.

It was chiefly on the faith of these predictions that the czarevitch quitted the kingdom and retired into a foreign country to wait for the death of his father. However, the whole scheme was soon discovered; Dozitheus and Glebo were seized; the letters of the princess Mary to Dozitheus, and those of Sister Helena to Glebo were read in the open senate. In consequence Princess Mary was shut up in the fortress of Schlüsselburg, and the old czarina was removed to another convent, where she was kept a close prisoner. Dozitheus and Glebo, together with the other accomplices of these idle and superstitious intrigues, were put to the torture, as also were the confidants of the czarevitch's flight. His confessor, his preceptor, and the steward of his household all died by the hands of the executioner.

Such then was the price at which Peter the Great purchased the happiness of his people, and such were the numberless obstacles he had to surmount in the midst of a long and dangerous war abroad,

and an unnatural rebellion at home. He saw one-half of his family plotting against him, the majority of the priesthood obstinately bent on frustrating his designs, and almost the whole nation for a long time opposing its own felicity, which as yet it did not fully appreciate. He had prejudices to overcome and discontents to soothe. In a word, there wanted a new generation formed by his care, who would at length entertain the proper ideas of happiness and glory which their fathers were not able to comprehend or support.

CHAPTER XXX.

WORKS AND ESTABLISHMENTS IN 1718 AND THE FOLLOWING YEARS.

THROUGHOUT the whole of the foregoing dreadful catastrophe, it appeared clearly that Peter had acted only as the father of his country, and that he considered his people as his family. The punishments he had been obliged to inflict on those who had endeavored to obstruct or impede the happiness of the rest were necessary, though melancholy sacrifices, made to the general good.

The year 1718, which was the epoch of the disinheritance and death of his eldest son, was also that of the greatest advantage he procured to his subjects, by establishing a general police, hitherto unknown; by the introduction or improvement of manufactures and works of every kind; by opening

new branches of trade, which now began to flourish, and by the construction of canals, which joined rivers, seas, and people, that nature had separated from each other. We have here none of those striking events which charm common readers; none of those court intrigues which are the food of scandal and malice, nor of those great revolutions which amaze the generality of mankind; but we behold the real springs of public happiness which the philosophic eye delights to contemplate.

He now appointed a lieutenant-general of police over the whole empire, who was to hold his court at St. Petersburg, and from there preserve order from one end of the kingdom to the other. Extravagance in dress, and the still more dangerous extravagance of gaming, were prohibited under severe penalties; schools for teaching arithmetic, which had been first set on foot in 1716, were now established in many towns in Russia. The hospitals which had been begun were now finished, endowed, and filled with proper objects.

To these we may add the several useful establishments which had been projected some time before, and which were completed a few years afterward. The great towns were now cleared of those innumerable swarms of beggars, who will not follow any other occupation but that of importuning those who are more industrious than themselves, and who lead a wretched and shameful life at the expense of others; an abuse too much overlooked in other nations.

The rich were obliged to build regular and hand-

some houses in St. Petersburg suitable to their circumstances, and, by a master stroke of policy, the various materials were brought carriage-free to the city by the barks and wagons which returned empty from the neighboring provinces.

Weights and measures were likewise fixed on a uniform plan, in the same manner as the laws. This uniformity, so vainly desired in states that have for many ages been civilized, was established in Russia without the least difficulty or murmuring; and yet we fancy that this salutary regulation is impracticable among us.

The prices of the necessaries of life were also fixed. The city of St. Petersburg was well lighted with lamps during the night; a convenience which was first introduced in Paris by Louis XIV., and to which Rome is still a stranger. Pumps were erected for supplying water in case of fire, the streets were well-paved and railings put up for the security of pedestrians; in a word, everything was provided that could minister to safety, decency, and good order, and to the quick despatch and convenience of the inland trade of the country. Several privileges were granted to foreigners, and proper laws enacted to prevent the abuse of those privileges. In consequence of these useful and salutary regulations, St. Petersburg and Moscow put on a new face.

The iron and steel manufactories received additional improvements, especially those which the czar had founded about ten miles from St. Petersburg, of which he himself was the first superintendent,

and wherein no less than a thousand workmen were employed immediately under his eye. He went in person to give directions to those who operated the corn-mills, powder-mills, and mills for sawing timber, and to the managers of the manufactories for cordage and sail-cloth, to the brickmakers, slaters, and the cloth-weavers. Numbers of workmen in every branch came from France to settle under him; these were the fruits he reaped from his travels.

He established a board of trade, which was composed of one-half natives and the other half foreigners, in order that justice might be equally distributed to all artists and workmen. A Frenchman located a manufactory for making fine looking-glasses at St. Petersburg, with the assistance of Prince Menshikoff. Another set up a loom for working curious tapestry, after the manner of the Gobelins; and this manufactory still meets with great encouragement. A third succeeded in the making of gold and silver thread, and the czar ordered that no more than four thousand marks of gold or silver should be expended in these works in the space of a year; by this means to prevent the too great consumption of bullion in the kingdom.

He gave thirty thousand rubles, that is, about one hundred and fifty thousand French livres, together with all the materials and instruments necessary for making the several kinds of woollen stuffs. By this useful bounty he was enabled to clothe all his troops with the cloth made in his own country; whereas, before that time, it was purchased from Berlin and other foreign cities.

They made as fine linen cloth in Moscow as in Holland; and at his death there was in that capital and at Jaroslaff no less than fourteen linen and hempen manufactures.

It could certainly never be imagined, at the time that silk sold in Europe for its weight in gold, that one day there would arise on the banks of Lake Ladoga, in the midst of a frozen region and among unfrequented marshes, a magnificent and opulent city, where the silks of Persia would be manufactured in as great perfection as at Ispahan. Peter, however, undertook this great phenomenon in commerce, and succeeded in the attempt. The working of iron mines was carried to the highest degree of perfection; several mines of gold and silver were discovered, and the council of mines was appointed to examine and determine whether the working of these would bring in a profit adequate to the expense.

But, to make so many different arts and manufactories flourish, and to establish so many various undertakings, it was not alone sufficient to grant patents, or to appoint inspectors; it was necessary that our great founder should behold all these pass under his own eye in their beginnings, and work at them with his own hands, in the same manner as we have already seen him working at the construction, the rigging, and the sailing of a ship. When canals were to be dug in marshy and almost impassable grounds, he was frequently seen at the head of the workmen, digging the earth, and carrying it away himself.

In this same year—1718—he formed the plan of the canal and sluices of Ladoga; this was intended to make communication between the Neva and another navigable river for the more easy conveyance of merchandise to St. Petersburg, without taking the great circuit of Lake Ladoga, which, on account of the storms that prevailed on the coast, was frequently impassable for barks or small vessels. Peter levelled the ground himself, and they still preserve the tools which he used in digging and carrying off the earth. The whole court followed the example of their sovereign and persisted in a work which, at the same time, they looked upon as impracticable; and it was finished after his death; for not one of his projects which had been found possible to be effected was abandoned.

The great canal of Kronstadt, which is easily drained of its waters, and wherein they careen and clean the men of war, was also begun at the time that he was engaged in the proceedings against his son.

In this year he also built the new city of Ladoga. A short time afterward he made the canal which joins the Caspian Sea to the Gulf of Finland and to the ocean. The boats, after sailing up the Volga, come first to the junction of two rivers, which he joined for that purpose; thence by another canal they enter into Lake Ilmen, and then pass into the canal of Ladoga, whence merchandise may be conveyed by sea to all parts of the world.

In the midst of these labors, which all passed under his inspection, he carried his views from

Kamchatka to the most eastern limits of his empire, and caused two forts to be built in these regions, which were so long unknown to the rest of the world. In the meantime, a body of engineers, who were drafted from the marine academy established in 1715, were sent to make the tour of the empire, in order to form exact maps thereof, and lay before mankind the immense extent of country which he had civilized and enriched.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE TRADE OF RUSSIA.

THE RUSSIAN foreign trade was in a manner annihilated before the reign of Peter. He restored it after his accession to the throne. It is notorious that the current of trade has undergone several changes in the world. The southern part of Russia was, before the time of Tamerlane, the staple of Greece and even of the Indies; and the Genoese were the principal factors. The Tanais and the Boristhenes were loaded with the productions of Asia; but when Tamerlane, toward the end of the fourteenth century, had conquered the Taurican Chersonesus, afterward called the Crimea or Crim Tartary, and when the Turks became masters of Azov, this great branch of trade was totally destroyed. Peter formed the design of reviving it by getting possession of Azov; but the unfortunate campaign of Pruth wrested this city out of his

hands, and with it all his plans on the Black Sea; nevertheless, he had it still in his power to open as extensive a road to commerce through the Caspian Sea. The English, who, in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, had opened a trade to Archangel, had endeavored to do the same by the Caspian Sea, but failed in all their attempts.

It has been already observed that the father of Peter the Great caused a ship to be built in Holland, to trade from Astrakhan to the coast of Persia. This vessel was burned by the rebel Stenkorazin, which put an immediate stop to any views of trading on a fair footing with the Persians. The Armenians, who are the factors of that part of Asia, were received by Peter the Great into Astrakhan; everything was obliged to pass through their hands, and they reaped all the advantage of that trade; as is the case with the Indian traders, and the Banians, and with the Turks, as well as several nations in Christendom, and the Jews; for those who have only one way of living are generally very expert in that art on which they depend for a support; and others pay a voluntary tribute to that knowledge in which they know themselves deficient.

Peter had already found a remedy for this inconvenience in the treaty which he made with the shah of Persia, by which all the silk, which was not used for the manufactories in that kingdom was to be delivered to the Armenians of Astrakhan, and by them transported into Russia.

The troubles which arose in Persia soon over-

turned this arrangement, and we shall see how the shah, or emperor of Persia, Hussein, when persecuted by the rebels, implored the assistance of Peter; and how that monarch, after having supported a difficult war against the Turks and the Swedes, entered Persia and subjected three of its provinces. But to return to the article of trade.

THE TRADE WITH CHINA.

The undertaking of establishing a trade with China seemed to promise the greatest advantages. Two vast empires, bordering on each other, and each reciprocally possessing what the other stood in need of, seemed to be both under the happy necessity of opening a useful correspondence, especially after the treaty of peace so solemnly ratified between these two empires in the year 1689, according to our way of reckoning.

The first foundation of this trade had been laid in 1653. There were at that time two companies of Siberian and Bokharian families settled in Siberia. Their caravans travelled through the Kalmuck plains; after that they crossed the deserts to Chinese Tartary, and made a considerable profit by their trade; but the troubles which happened in the country of the Kalmucks, and the disputes between the Russians and Chinese in regard to the frontiers, put a stop to this commerce.

After the peace of 1689 it was natural for the two nations to fix on some neutral place whither all the goods should be carried. The Siberians, like all other nations, stood more in need of the Chinese

than the latter did of them; accordingly permission was asked of the emperor of China to send caravans to Pekin, which was readily granted. This happened in the beginning of the present century.

It is worthy of observation that the emperor Camhi had granted permission for a Russian church in the suburbs of Pekin; which church was to be served by Siberian priests, the whole at the emperor's own expense, who was so indulgent to cause this church to be built for the accommodation of several families of eastern Siberia; some of whom had been prisoners before the peace of 1680, and the others were adventurers from their own country, who would not go back again after the Peace of Niptchou. The agreeable climate of Pekin, the obliging manners of the Chinese, and the ease with which they found a handsome living, determined them to spend the rest of their days in China. The small Greek church could not become dangerous to the peace of the empire, as those of the Jesuits have been to that of other nations; and, moreover, the emperor Camhi was an advocate of liberty of conscience. Toleration has, in all times, been the established custom in Asia, as it was in former times all over the world till the reign of the Roman emperor Theodosius I. The Russian families thus established in China, having intermarried with the natives, have since quitted the Christian religion, but their church still exists.

It was stipulated that this church should be for the use of those who came with the Siberian caravans to bring furs and other commodities wanted at

Pekin. The journey out and home, and the stay in the country, generally took up three years. Prince Gagarin, governor of Siberia, was twenty years at the head of this trade. The caravans were sometimes very numerous; and it was difficult to keep the common people, who made the greatest number, within proper bounds.

They passed through the territories of a Laman priest, who is a kind of Tartar sovereign, resides on the seacoast of Orkon, and has the title of Koutoukas; he is the vicar of the grand Lama, but has rendered himself independent by making some change in the religion of the country, where the Indian tenet of metempsychosis is the prevailing opinion. We cannot find a more apt comparison for this priest than in the bishops of Lübeck and Osnabrück, who have shaken off the dominion of the Church of Rome. The caravans, in their march, sometimes committed depredations in the territories of this Tartar prelate, as they did also in those of the Chinese. This irregular conduct proved an impediment to the trade of those parts, for the Chinese threatened to shut the entrance into their empire against the Russians unless a stop was put to these disorders. The trade with China was, at that time, very advantageous to the Russians, who received gold, silver, and precious stones in return for their merchandise. The largest ruby in the world was brought out of China to Prince Gagarin, who sent it to Prince Menshikoff; and it is now one of the ornaments of the imperial crown.

The exactions put in practice by Prince Gagarin

were of great prejudice to that trade, which had brought him so much riches; and, at length, they ended in his own destruction; for he was accused before the court of justice established by the czar, and sentenced to lose his head, a year after the condemnation of the czarevitch and the execution of all those who had been his accomplices.

About the same time the emperor Camhi, perceiving his health failing, and knowing by experience that the European mathematicians were much more learned in their art than those of his own nation, thought that the European physicians must also have more knowledge than those of Pekin, and therefore sent a message to the czar by some ambassadors who were returning from China to St. Petersburg, requesting him to send him one of his physicians. There happened at that time to be an English surgeon at St. Petersburg, who offered to undertake the journey in that character; and accordingly set out in company with a new ambassador and one Laurence Lange, who has left a description of that journey. This embassy was received and all the expenses of it defrayed with great pomp by Camhi. The surgeon, on his arrival, found the emperor in perfect health, and gained the reputation of a most skilful physician. The caravans that followed this embassy made enormous profits; but fresh excesses having been committed by this very caravan, the Chinese were so offended thereat that they sent back Lange, who was at that time resident from the czar at the Chinese court, and with him all the Russian merchants established there.

The emperor Camhi dying, his son, Yontchin, who had as great a share of wisdom and more firmness than his father, and who drove the Jesuits out of his empire, as the czar had done from Russia in 1718, concluded a treaty with Peter by which the Russian caravans were no more to trade on the frontiers of the two empires. There are only certain factors, despatched in the name of the emperor or empress of Russia, and these have liberty to enter Pekin, where they are lodged in a vast house, which the emperor of China formerly assigned for the reception of the envoys from Korea; but it is a considerable time since either caravans or factors have been sent there from Russia; so that the trade is now in a declining way, but may possibly soon be revived.

THE TRADE OF ST. PETERSBURG, AND THE OTHER PORTS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

There were at this time more than two hundred foreign vessels anchoring at the new capital in the space of a year. This trade has continued increasing, and has frequently brought in five millions, French money, to the crown. This was far more than the interest of the money which this establishment had cost. This trade, however, greatly diminished that of Archangel, and was precisely what the founder desired; for the port of Archangel is too dangerous, and at too great distance from other ports; besides that, a trade which is carried on immediately under the eye of an assiduous sovereign is always the most advantageous. That of Livonia

continued still on the same footing. The trade of Russia in general has proved very successful; its ports have received from one thousand to twelve hundred vessels in a year, and Peter discovered the happy expedient of joining utility to glory.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE LAWS.

It is well known that good laws are scarce, and that the due execution of them is still more so. The greater the extent of any state and the variety of people of which it is composed, the more difficult it is to unite them by the same body of laws. The father of Czar Peter formed a digest or code under the title of *"Oulogenia,"* which was actually printed, but it by no means answered the end intended.

Peter, in the course of his travels, had collected materials for repairing this great structure, which was falling to decay in many of its parts. He gathered many useful hints from the governments of Denmark, Sweden, England, Germany, and France, selecting from each of these different nations what he thought most suitable to his own.

There was a court of boyars, or great men, who determined all matters *en dernier ressort.* Rank and birth alone gave a seat in this assembly; but the czar thought that knowledge was likewise requisite, and therefore this court was dissolved.

He then instituted a procurator-general, with

four assistants, in each of the governments of the empire. These were to overlook the conduct of the judges, whose decrees were subject to an appeal to the senate, which he established. Each of those judges was furnished with a copy of the "*Oulogenia,*" with additions and necessary alterations, until a complete body of laws could be formed.

These judges were forbidden to receive any fees, which, however moderate, are always an abusive tax on the fortunes and properties of those concerned in suits of law. The czar also took care that the expenses of the court were moderate, and the decisions speedy. The judges and their clerks had fixed salaries out of the public treasury, and were not allowed to purchase their offices.

It was in 1718, at the time that he was engaged in the process against his son, that he made the chief part of these regulations. The greater part of the laws he enacted were borrowed from those of the Swedes, and he readily admitted to places in his courts of judicature such Swedish prisoners as were well versed in the laws of their own country, and who, having learned the Russian language, were willing to continue in that kingdom.

The governor of each province and his assistants had the cognizance of private causes within such government; from them there was no appeal to the senate; and if any one, after having been condemned by the senate, appealed to the czar himself, and such appeal was found unjust, he was punished with death: but to mitigate the rigor of this law, the czar created a master of the requests, who re-

ceived the petitions of those who had affairs pending in the senate, or in the inferior courts, concerning which the laws then in force were not sufficiently explanatory.

At length, in 1722, he completed his new code, prohibiting all the judges, under pain of death, to depart therefrom in their decrees, or to set up their own private opinions in place of the general statutes. This dreadful ordinance was published, and still remains in all the courts of judicature of the empire.

He erected everything anew; there was not, even to the common affairs of society, anything but what was his work. He regulated the degrees between man and man, according to their posts and employments, from the admiral and the field-marshal to the ensign, without any regard to birth.

Having always in his own mind, and willing to imprint it on those of his subjects, that services are preferable to pedigree, a certain rank was fixed for the women; and she who took a place in a public assembly, that did not properly belong to her, was obliged to pay a fine.

By a still more useful regulation, every private soldier, on being made an officer, instantly became a gentleman; and a nobleman, if his character had been impeached in a court of justice, was degraded to a plebeian.

After the settling of these several laws and regulations, it happened that the increase of towns, wealth, and population in the empire, new undertakings, and the creation of new employs, necessarily introduced a multitude of new affairs and un-

foreseen cases, which were all consequences of that success which attended the czar in the general reformation of his dominions.

The empress Elizabeth completed the body of laws which her father had begun, in which she gave the most lively proofs of that mildness and clemency for which she was so justly famed.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

RELIGION.

At this time also Peter labored more than ever to reform the clergy. He had abolished the patriarchal office, and by this act of authority had alienated the minds of the ecclesiastics. He was determined that the imperial power should be free and absolute, and that of the Church respected, but submissive. His design was to establish a council of religion, which should always subsist, but dependent on the sovereign, and that it should give no laws to the Church, but such as should be approved of by the head of the State, of which the Church was a part. He was assisted in this undertaking by the archbishop of Novgorod, named Theophanes Procop, or Procopowitz, i. e., son of Procop.

This prelate was a person of great learning and sagacity; his travels through the different parts of Europe had afforded him opportunities of noting the several abuses which reign among them. The czar, who had himself been a witness of the same,

had this great advantage in forming all his regulations: he was possessed of an unlimited power to choose what was useful, and reject what was dangerous. He labored, in concert with the archbishop, in 1718 and 1719, to effect his design. He established a perpetual synod, to be composed of twelve members, partly bishops and partly archpriests, all to be chosen by the sovereign. This college was afterward increased to fourteen.

The motives of this establishment were explained by the czar in a preliminary discourse. The chief and most remarkable of these was, that, under the administration of a college of priests, there was less danger of troubles and insurrections than under the government of a single head of the Church; because the common people, who are always prone to superstition, might, by seeing one head of the Church, and another of the State, be led to believe that they were in fact two different powers. And hereupon he cites as an example, the divisions which so long subsisted between the empire and the papal see, and which stained so many kingdoms with blood.

Peter thought, and openly declared, that the notion of two powers in a state, founded on the allegory of the two swords, mentioned in the apostles, was absurd and erroneous.

This court was invested with the ecclesiastical power of regulating all penances, and examining into the morals and capacity of those nominated by the court to bishoprics; to pass judgment *en dernier ressort* in all causes relating to religion, in which it

was the custom formerly to appeal to the patriarch, and also to take cognizance of the revenues of monasteries and the distribution of alms.

This synod had the title of "most holy," which the patriarchs were wont to assume, and in fact the czar seemed to have preserved the patriarchal dignity, but divided among fourteen members, who were all dependent on the crown, and were to take an oath of obedience, which the patriarchs never did. The members of this holy synod, when met in assembly, had the same rank as the senators; but they were, like the senate, all dependent on the prince. But neither this new form of church administration, nor the ecclesiastical code, were in full vigor till four years after its institution, namely, in 1722. Peter at first intended that the synod should have the presentation of those whom they thought most worthy to fill the vacant bishopric. These were to be nominated by the emperor, and consecrated by the synod. Peter frequently presided in person at the assembly. One day when a vacant see was to be filled, the synod observed to the emperor that they had none but ignorant persons to present to his majesty: "Well, then," replied the czar, "you have only to pitch upon the most honest man; he will be worth two learned ones."

It is to be observed that the Greek Church has none of that motley order called secular abbots. The *petit collet* is unknown there, otherwise than by the ridiculousness of its character, but by another abuse—as everything in this world must be subject to abuse—the bishops and prelates are all chosen

from the monastic orders. The first monks were only laymen, partly devotees, and partly fanatics, who retired into the deserts, where they were at length gathered together by St. Basil, who gave them a body of rules, and then they took vows, and were reckoned as the lower order of the Church, which is the first step to be taken to arise at higher dignities. It was this that filled all Greece and Asia with monks. Russia was overrun with them. They became rich, powerful, and though excessively ignorant, they were, at the accession of Peter to the throne, almost the only persons who knew how to write. Of this knowledge they made such an abuse, when struck and confounded with the new regulations which Peter introduced in all the departments of government, that he was obliged, in 1703, to issue an edict, forbidding the use of pen and ink to the monks, without an express order from the archimandrite, or prior of the convent, who in that case was responsible for the behavior of those to whom he granted this indulgence.

Peter designed to make this a standing law, and at first he intended that no one should be admitted into any order under fifty years of age; but that appeared too late an age, as the life of man being in general so limited, there was not time sufficient for such persons to acquire the necessary qualifications for being made bishops; and therefore, with the advice of his synod, he placed it at thirty years complete, but never under; at the same time expressly prohibiting any person exercising the profession of a soldier, or a husbandman, to enter into

a convent, without an immediate order from the emperor or the synod, and to admit no married man on any account, even though divorced from his wife; unless that wife should, at the same time, embrace a religious life of her own pure will, and neither of them had any children. No person in actual employ under the government can take the habit, without an express order of state for that purpose. Every monk is obliged to work with his own hands at some trade. The nuns are never to go beyond the walls of their convent, and at the age of fifty are to receive the tonsure, as did the deaconesses of the primitive Church; but if, before undergoing that ceremony, they have an inclination to marry, they are not only allowed, but even exhorted, so to do—an admirable regulation in a country where population is of infinitely greater use than a monastic life.

Peter was desirous that those unhappy women, whom God had destined to people a kingdom, and who, by a mistaken devotion, annihilated in cloisters that race of which they would otherwise become mothers, should at least be of some service to society, which they thus injure; and therefore ordered that they should all be employed in some handiwork suitable to their sex. The empress Catherine took upon herself the care of sending for representatives of several handicrafts from Brabant and Holland, whom she distributed among these convents, and, in a short time, they produced several kinds of work, which the empress and her ladies always wore as a part of their dress.

There cannot perhaps be anything conceived

more prudent than these institutions; but what merits the attention of all ages is the regulation which Peter made himself, and which he addressed to the synod in 1724. The ancient ecclesiastical institution is there learnedly explained, and the indolence of the monkish life admirably well exposed; and he not only recommended an application to labor and industry, but even commanded it; and that the principal occupation of those people should be to assist and relieve the poor. He likewise ordered that sick and infirm soldiers shall be sheltered in the convents, and that a certain number of monks should be set apart to take care of them, and that the most strong and healthy of these should cultivate the lands belonging to those convents. He ordered the same regulations to be observed in the monasteries for women, and that the strongest of these should take care of the gardens, and the rest wait on sick or infirm women, who might be brought from the neighboring country into the convents for that purpose. He also entered into the minutest details relating to these services; and, lastly, he appointed certain monasteries of both sexes for the reception and education of orphans.

In reading this ordinance of Peter the Great, which was published Jan. 31, 1724, one would imagine it to have been framed by a minister of State and a father of the Church.

Almost all the customs in the Russian Church are different from those of ours. As soon as a man is made a subdeacon we prohibit him from marrying, and he is accounted guilty of sacrilege if he is in-

strumental in adding to the population of his country. On the contrary, when any one has taken a subdeacon's orders in Russia, he is obliged to take a wife, and then may rise to the rank of priest, and archpriest, but he cannot be made a bishop unless he is a widower and a monk.

Peter forbade all parish priests from bringing up more than one son for the service of the Church, unless it was particularly desired by the parishioners; and this he did lest a numerous family might in time come to tyrannize over the parish. We may perceive in these little circumstances relating to Church government, that the legislator had always the good of the State in view, and that he took every precaution to make the clergy properly respected, without being dangerous, and that they should be neither contemptible nor powerful.

In those curious memoirs, composed by an officer who was a particular favorite of Peter the Great, I find the following anecdote: One day a person was reading to the czar that number of the English *Spectator,* in which a parallel is drawn between him and Louis XIV. "I do not think," said Peter, "that I deserve the preference that is here given me over that monarch; but I have been fortunate enough to have the superiority over him in one essential point, namely, that of having obliged my clergy to live in peace and submission, whereas my brother Louis has suffered himself to be ruled by his."

A prince, whose days were almost wholly spent in the fatigues of war, and his nights in compiling laws for the better government of so large an em-

pire, and in directing so many great labors, through a space of two thousand leagues, must stand in need of some hours of amusement. Diversions at that time were neither so noble nor so elegant as they now are, and therefore we must not wonder if Peter amused himself with the entertainment of the sham conclave, of which mention has been already made, and other diversions of the same stamp, which were frequently at the expense of the Romish Church, to which he had a great dislike, and which was very pardonable in a prince of the Greek communion, who was determined to be master in his own dominions. He likewise gave several entertainments of the same kind at the expense of the monks of his own country—but of the ancient monks, whose follies and bigotry he wished to ridicule, while he strove to reform the new.

We have already seen that, before publishing his church laws, he created one of his fools pope, and celebrated the feast of the sham conclave. This fool, whose name was Josof, was between eighty or ninety. The czar took it into his head to make him marry an old widow of his own age, and to have their nuptials publicly solemnized; he caused the invitation to the marriage guests to be made by four persons who were remarkable for stammering. The bride was conducted to church by decrepit old men; four of the most bulky men that could be found in Russia acted as running footmen. The musicians were seated in a wagon drawn by bears, whom they ever now and then pricked with goads of iron, and who, by their roaring, formed a full bass, perfectly

agreeable to the concert in the cart. The married couple received the benediction in the cathedral from the hands of a deaf and blind priest, who, to appear more ridiculous, wore a large pair of spectacles on his nose. The procession, the wedding, the marriage feast, the undressing and putting to bed of the bride and bridegroom were all on a par with the rest of this burlesque ceremony.

We may perhaps be apt to regard this as a very trivial and ridiculous entertainment for a great prince; but is it more so than our carnival? Or to see five or six hundred persons with masks on their faces, and dressed in the most ridiculous manner, skipping and jumping about together for a whole night in a large room, without speaking a word to each other?

In fine, were the ancient feasts of the fools and the ass, and the abbot of the cuckolds, which were formerly celebrated in our churches, much superior, or did our comedies of the Foolish Mother exhibit marks of a greater genius?

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE CONGRESS OF OELAND—DEATH OF CHARLES XII. —THE TREATY OF NYSTADT.

These immense labors, this minute review of the whole Russian Empire, and the melancholy proceedings against his unhappy son, were not the only objects which demanded the attention of the czar;

it was necessary to secure himself abroad, at the same time that he was settling order and tranquillity within. The war with Sweden was still carried on, though faintly, in hopes of an approaching peace.

It is a known fact that, in 1717, Cardinal Alberoni, prime minister to Philip V. of Spain, and Baron Goertz, who had gained an entire ascendency over the mind of Charles XII., had concerted a project to change the face of affairs in Europe, by effecting a reconciliation between this last prince and the czar, driving George I. from the English throne, and replacing Stanislaus on that of Poland, while Cardinal Alberoni was to procure the regency of France for Philip. Goertz, as has been already observed, had opened his mind on this head to the czar himself. Alberoni had begun a negotiation with Prince Kourakin, the czar's ambassador at The Hague, by means of the Spanish ambassador, Baretti Landi, a native of Mantua, who had, like the cardinal, quitted his own country to live in Spain.

Thus a set of foreigners were about to overturn the general system, for masters under whose dominion they were not born, or rather for themselves. Charles XII. entered into all these projects, and the czar contented himself with examining them in private. Since 1716 he had made only feeble efforts against Sweden, and those rather with a view to oblige that kingdom to purchase peace by restoring those places it had taken in the course of the war, than with an intent to crush it altogether.

Baron Goertz, ever active and indefatigable in his projects, had prevailed on the czar to send pleni-

potentiaries to the island of Oeland to set on foot a treaty of peace. Bruce, a Scotchman, and grand master of the ordnance in Russia, and the famous Osterman, who was afterward at the head of affairs, arrived at the place appointed for the congress exactly at the time that the czarevitch was put under arrest at Moscow. Goertz and Gyllenborg were already there on the part of Charles XII., both impatient to bring about a reconciliation between that prince and Peter, and to avenge themselves on the king of England. It was an extraordinary circumstance that there should be a congress, and no cessation of arms. The czar's fleet still continued cruising on the coasts of Sweden, and taking the ships of that nation. Peter thought by keeping up hostilities to hasten the conclusion of a peace, of which he knew the Swedes stood greatly in need, and which must prove highly glorious to the conqueror.

Notwithstanding the little hostilities which still continued, everything bespoke the speedy approach of peace. The preliminaries began by mutual acts of generosity, which produce stronger effects than many documents. The czar sent back without ransom Marshal Erenschild, whom he had taken prisoner with his own hands, and Charles in return did the same by Trubetskoy and Gollovin, who had been prisoners in Sweden ever since the battle of Narva.

The negotiations now advanced apace, and a total change was going to be made in the affairs of the North. Goertz proposed to the czar to put the duchy of Mecklenburg into his hands. Duke

THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW

Charles, its sovereign, who had married a daughter of Czar John, Peter's elder brother, was at variance with the nobility of the country, who had taken arms against him. And Peter, who looked upon that prince as his brother-in-law, had an army in Mecklenburg ready to espouse his cause. The king of England, elector of Hanover, declared on the side of the nobles. Here was another opportunity of mortifying the king of England, by putting Peter in possession of Mecklenburg; he, being already master of Livonia, would by this means, in a short time, become more powerful in Germany than any of its electors. The duchy of Courland was to be given to the duke of Mecklenburg, as an equivalent for his own, together with a part of Prussia, at the expense of Poland, which was to have Stanislaus again for its king. Bremen and Verden were to revert to Sweden; but these provinces could not be wrested out of the hands of the king of England but by force of arms; accordingly Goertz's project was to effect a firm union between Peter and Charles XII., and that not only by the bonds of peace, but by an offensive alliance, in which case they were jointly to send an army into Scotland. Charles XII., after having made himself master of Norway, was to make a descent on Great Britain, and he fondly imagined he should be able to set a new sovereign on the throne of those kingdoms, after having replaced one of his own selection on that of Poland. Cardinal Alberoni promised both Peter and Charles to furnish them with subsidies. The fall of the king of England would, it was supposed, draw with it

that of his ally, the regent of France, who, being thus deprived of all support, was to fall a victim to the victorious arms of Spain, and the discontent of the French nation.

Alberoni and Goertz now thought themselves certain of totally overturning the system of Europe, when a cannon-ball from the bastions of Frederikshall in Norway confounded all their mighty projects. Charles XII. was killed, the Spanish fleet was beaten by that of England, the conspiracy which had been formed in France was discovered and quelled, Alberoni was driven out of Spain, and Goertz was beheaded at Stockholm; and of all this formidable league, the czar alone retained his credit, who, by not having put himself in the power of any one, gave law to all his neighbors.

After the death of Charles XII. there was a total change of measures in Sweden. Charles had governed with a despotic power, and his sister, Ulrica, was elected queen on express condition of renouncing arbitrary government. Charles intended to form an alliance with the czar against England and its allies, and the new government of Sweden now joined those allies against the czar.

The congress of Oeland, however, was not broken up; but the Swedes, now in league with the English, flattered themselves that the fleets of that nation sent into the Baltic would procure them a more advantageous peace. A body of Hanoverian troops entered the dominions of the duke of Mecklenburg, in February, 1719, but were soon driven from thence by the czar's forces.

Peter had a body of troops in Poland, which kept in awe both the party of Augustus and that of Stanislaus; and as to Sweden, he had a fleet always ready, either to make a descent on their coasts, or to oblige the Swedish government to hasten matters in the congress. This fleet consisted of twelve large ships of the line, and several lesser ones, besides frigates and galleys. The czar served on board this fleet as vice-admiral, under the command of Admiral Apraxin.

A part of this fleet signalized itself in the beginning against the Swedish squadron, and, after an obstinate engagement, took one ship of the line, and two frigates. Peter, who constantly endeavored, by every possible means, to encourage and improve the navy he had been at so much pains to establish, gave, on this occasion, sixty thousand French livres in money among the officers of this squadron, with several gold medals, besides conferring marks of honor on those who principally distinguished themselves.

About this time the English fleet under Admiral Norris came up the Baltic, in order to favor the Swedes. Peter, who well knew how far he could depend on his new navy, was not to be frightened by the English, but boldly kept to sea, and sent to know of the English admiral if he was come only as a friend to the Swedes, or as an enemy to Russia. The admiral replied that he had not as yet any positive orders from his court on that head; however, Peter, notwithstanding this equivocal reply, continued to keep to sea with his fleet.

The English fleet, which in fact had come only to show itself, and thereby induce the czar to grant more favorable conditions of peace to the Swedes, went to Copenhagen, and the Russians made some descents on the Swedish coast, and even in the neighborhood of Copenhagen, in July, 1719, where they destroyed some copper mines, burned about fifteen thousand houses, and did mischief enough to make the Swedes heartily wish for a speedy conclusion of the peace.

Accordingly, the new queen of Sweden pressed the renewal of the negotiations; Osterman himself was sent to Stockholm, and matters continued in this situation during the whole of the year 1719.

The following year the prince of Hesse, husband of the queen of Sweden, and now king, in virtue of her having yielded up the sovereign power in his favor, began his reign by sending a minister to the court of St. Petersburg, in order to hasten the desired peace; but the war was still carried on in the midst of these negotiations.

The English fleet joined that of the Swedes, but did not yet commit any hostilities, as there was no open rupture between the courts of Russia and England, and Admiral Norris even offered his master's mediation toward bringing about a peace; but as this offer was made with arms in hand, it rather retarded than facilitated the negotiations. The coasts of Sweden, and those of the new Russian provinces in the Baltic, are so situated that the former lie open to every insult, while the latter are secured by their difficult access. This was clearly

seen when Admiral Norris, after having thrown off the mask, made a descent in conjunction with the Swedish fleet, in June, 1720, on a little island in the province of Esthonia, called Narguen, which belonged to the czar, where they only burned a peasant's house; but the Russians at the same time made a descent near Vasa, and burned forty-one villages, and over one thousand houses, and did much damage to the country round about. Prince Golitzin boarded and took four Swedish frigates, and the English admiral seemed to have come only to be spectator of that pitch of glory to which the czar had raised his infant navy, for he had but just shown himself in those seas, when the Swedish frigates were carried in triumph into the harbor of Kronstadt, before St. Petersburg. On this occasion, methinks, the English did too much if they came only as mediators, and too little if as enemies.

In November, 1720, the new king of Sweden demanded a cessation of arms; and as he found the menaces of the English had been of no avail, he had recourse to the duke of Orleans, the French regent; and this prince, at once an ally of Russia and Sweden, had the honor of effecting a reconciliation between them, in February, 1721. He sent Campredon, his plenipotentiary, to the court of St. Petersburg, and from thence to that of Stockholm. A congress was opened at Nystad; but the czar would not gree to a cessation of arms till matters were on the point of being concluded, and the plenipotentiaries ready to sign. He had an army in Finland ready to subdue the rest of that province, and

his fleets were continually threatening the Swedish coasts, so that he seemed absolute master of dictating the terms of peace; accordingly they subscribed to whatever he thought fit to demand. By this treaty he was to remain in perpetual possession of all that his arms had conquered, from the borders of Courland to the extremity of the Gulf of Finland, and from thence again of the whole extent of the country of Kexholm, and that narrow strip of Finland which stretches out to the northward of the neighborhood of Kexholm, so that he remained master of all Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Karelia, with the country of Viborg, and the neighboring isles, which secured to him the sovereignty of the sea, as likewise of the isles of Oesel, Dago, Mohn, and several others; the whole forming an extent of three thousand leagues of country, of unequal breadth, and which altogether made a large kingdom, that proved the reward of twenty years' immense pains and labor.

The peace was signed at Nystad, Sept. 10, 1721, by the Russian minister Osterman, and General Bruce.

Peter was rejoiced at that event, as it freed him from the necessity of keeping such large armies on the frontiers of Sweden, and also relieved him of any apprehensions on the part of England, or of the neighboring states, and left him at full liberty to turn his whole attention to the modelling of his empire, in which he had already made so successful a beginning, and to cherish arts and commerce,

which he had introduced among his subjects, at the expense of infinite labor and industry.

In the first transports of his satisfaction, we find him writing in these terms to his plenipotentiaries: "You have drawn up the treaty as if we ourself had dictated and sent it to you to offer the Swedes to sign. This glorious event shall be ever present to our remembrance."

All degrees of people throughout the Russian Empire gave proofs of their satisfaction, by the most extraordinary rejoicings of all kinds, and particularly at St. Petersburg. The triumphal festivals, with which the czar had entertained his people during the course of the war, were nothing to compare to these rejoicings for the peace, which every one hailed with unutterable satisfaction. The peace itself was the most glorious of all his triumphs; and what pleased more than all the pompous shows on the occasion, was a free pardon and general release granted to all prisoners, and a general remission of all sums due to the royal treasury for taxes throughout the whole empire, to the day of the publication of the peace. In consequence of this a multitude of unhappy wretches who had been confined in prison were set at liberty, excepting only those guilty of highway robbery, murder, or treason.

It was at this time that the senate decreed Peter the title of "Great, Emperor and Father of his Country." Count Golovkin, the high chancellor, made a speech to the czar in the great cathedral, in the name of all the orders of the state, the senators crying aloud, "Long live our emperor and father!"

in which acclamations they were joined by the united voices of all the people present. The ministers of France, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and the states-general, waited on him, with their congratulations on the titles lately bestowed on him, and formally acknowledged for emperor him who had been always publicly known in Holland by that title, ever since the battle of Poltava. The names of "Father" and of "Great" were glorious epithets, which no one in Europe could dispute him; that of "Emperor" was only an honorary title, given by custom to the sovereigns of Germany, as titular kings of the Romans; and it requires time before such appellations come to be formally adopted by those courts where forms of state and real glory are different things. But Peter was shortly after acknowledged emperor by all the states of Europe except Poland, which was still divided by factions, and the pope, whose suffrage was of very little significance since the court of Rome had lost its credit in proportion as other nations became more enlightened.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CONQUESTS IN PERSIA.

THE situation of Russia is such as necessarily obliges her to keep up certain connections with all the nations that lie in the fifth degree of north latitude. When under a bad administration, she was a prey by turns to the Tartars, the Swedes, and the

Poles; but when governed by a resolute and vigorous prince, she became formidable to all her neighbors. Peter began his reign by an advantageous treaty with the Chinese. He had waged war at one and the same time against the Swedes and the Turks, and now prepared to lead his victorious armies into Persia.

At this time Persia began to fall into that deplorable state in which we now behold her. Let us figure to ourselves the Thirty Years' War in Germany, the times of the League, those of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the reigns of Charles VI. and of King John in France, the civil wars in England, the long and horrible ravages of the whole Russian Empire by the Tartars, of their invasion of China; and then we shall have some slight conception of the miseries under which the Persian Empire has so long groaned.

A weak and indolent prince and a powerful and enterprising subject are sufficient to plunge a whole nation into such an abyss of disasters. Hussein, shah or sufi of Persia, a descendant of the great shah Abbas, who sat at this time on the throne of Persia, had given himself wholly up to luxury and effeminacy: his prime minister committed acts of the greatest violence and injustice, which this great prince winked at, and this gave rise to forty years of desolation and bloodshed.

Persia, like Turkey, has several provinces, all governed in a different manner; she has subjects immediately under her dominion, vassals, tributary princes, and even nations, to whom the court was

wont to pay a tribute, under the name of subsidies. For instance, to the people of Daghestan, who inhabit the locality of Mount Caucasus, now called Lesgians, who are rather under the protection than the dominion of Persia, the government paid subsidies, for defending the frontiers.

At the other extremity of the empire, toward the Indies, was the prince of Kandahar, who commanded a kind of martial militia, called Aghwans. This prince of Kandahar was a vassal of the Persian, as the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia are of the Turkish Empire; this vassalage was not hereditary, but exactly the same as the ancient feudal tenures established throughout Europe by that race of Tartars who overthrew the Roman Empire. The Aghwan militia, of which the prince of Kandahar was the head, was the same as the Albanians on the coasts of the Caspian Sea, in the neighborhood of Daghestan, and a mixture of Circassians and Georgians, like the ancient Mamelukes, who enslaved Egypt. The name of Aghwans is a corruption; Timur, whom we call Tamerlane, had led these people into India, and they remained settled in the province of Kandahar, which sometimes belonged to the Mogul Empire, and sometimes to that of Persia. These Aghwans and Lesgians began the revolution.

Mir-Weis, or Meriwitz, intendant of the province, whose office was only to collect the tributes, assassinated the prince of Kandahar, armed the militia, and continued master of the province till his death, which happened in 1717. His brother came quietly to the succession, by paying a slight tribute

to the Persian court. But the son of Mir-Weis, who inherited the ambition of his father, assassinated his uncle, and began to erect himself into a conqueror. This young man was called Mir Mahmoud, but he was known in Europe only by the name of his father, who had begun the rebellion. Mahmoud reinforced his Aghwans, by adding to them all the Guebers he could get together. These Guebers were an ancient race of Persians, who had been dispersed by Caliph Omar, and who still continued attached to the religion of the Magi—formerly flourishing in the reign of Cyrus—and were always secret enemies to the new Persians. Having assembled his forces, Mahmoud marched into the heart of Persia, at the head of a hundred thousand men.

At the same time the Lesgians or Albanians, who, on account of the troublesome times, had not received their subsidies from the court of Persia, came down from their mountains with an armed force, so that the flames of civil war were lighted up at both ends of the empire, and extended themselves even to the capital.

These Lesgians ravaged all that country which stretches along the western borders of the Caspian Sea, as far as Derbent, or the iron gate. In this country is situated the city of Shemakha, about fifteen leagues distant from the sea, which is said to have been the ancient residence of Cyrus, and by the Greeks called Cyropolis, for we know nothing of the situation or names of these countries but what we have from the Greeks; but as the Persians never had a prince called Cyrus, much less had they any

city called Cyropolis. It is much like the Jews, who, when they were settled in Alexandria, framed a notion of a city called Scythopolis, which, said they, was built by the Scythians in the neighborhood of Judæa, as if either Scythians or ancient Jews could have given Greek names to their towns.

The city of Shemakha was very rich. The Armenians who inhabit this part of the Persian Empire carried on an immense traffic there, and Peter had lately established a company of Russian merchants at his own expense, which company became very flourishing. The Lesgians made themselves masters of this city by surprise, plundered it, and put to death all the Russians who traded there under the protection of Shah Hussein, after having stripped all their warehouses. The loss on this occasion was said to amount to four millions of rubles.

Peter sent to demand satisfaction of Hussein, who was then disputing the throne with the rebel Mahmoud, who had usurped it, and likewise of Mahmoud himself. The former of these was willing to do the czar justice, the other refused it; Peter therefore resolved to right himself, and take advantage of the distractions in the Persian Empire.

Mir Mahmoud still pushed his conquests in Persia. The sufi hearing that the emperor of Russia was preparing to enter the Caspian Sea, in order to avenge the murder of his subjects at Shemakha, made private application to him, by means of an Armenian, to take upon him at the same time the defence of Persia.

Peter had for some time formed a project to

make himself master of the Caspian Sea, by means of a powerful naval force, and to turn the tide of commerce from Persia and a part of India through his own dominions. He had caused several parts of this sea to be sounded, the coasts to be surveyed, and exact charts made of the whole. He then set sail for the coast of Persia, May 15, 1722. Catherine accompanied him in this voyage, as she had done in the former. They sailed down the Volga as far as the city of Astrakhan. From there he hastened to forward the canals which were to join the Caspian, the Baltic, and Euxine Seas, a work which has been since executed in part under the reign of his grandson.

While he was directing these works, the necessary provisions for his expedition arrived in the Caspian Sea. He was to take with him twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand dragoons, fifteen thousand Cossacks, and three thousand seamen, who were to work the ships, and occasionally assist the soldiery in making descents on the coast. The horse were to march overland through deserts where there was frequently no water to be had, and to pass over the mountains of Caucasus, where three hundred men are sufficient to stop the progress of a whole army; but the distracted condition in which Persia then was warranted the most hazardous enterprises.

The czar sailed about a hundred leagues to the south of Astrakhan, till he came to the little town of Andrewhoff. It may appear extraordinary to hear of the name of Andrew on the coasts of the

Caspian Sea; but some Georgians, who were formerly a sect of Christians, had built this town, which the Persians fortified; but it fell an easy prey to the czar's arms. He continued advancing by land into the province of Daghestan, and caused manifestoes to be circulated in the Turkish and Persian languages. It was necessary to keep fair with the Ottoman Porte, who reckoned among his subjects not only the Circassians and Georgians, who border upon this country, but also several powerful vassals, who had of late put themselves under the protection of the grand seignior.

Among others there was one very powerful, named Mahmoud d'Utmich, who took the title of sultan, and had the courage to attack the czar's troops, by which he was totally defeated, and the story says that his whole country was made a bonfire on the occasion.

On Sept. 14, 1722, Peter arrived at the city of Derbent, by the Persians and Turks called Demir Capi, that is the Iron Gate, and so named from having formerly had an iron gate at the south entrance. The city is long and narrow, its upper part joins a rocky branch of Mount Caucasus, and the walls of the lower part are washed by the sea, which in violent storms makes a breach over them. These walls might pass for one of the wonders of antiquity, being forty feet in height, and six in breadth, defended with square towers every fifty feet. The whole work seems one uniform piece, and is built of a sort of brown freestone, mixed with pounded shells, which served as mortar, so that the whole

forms a mass harder than marble. The city lies open from the sea, but that part of it next the land appears impregnable. There are still some ruins of an old wall like that of China, which must have been built in the earlier times of antiquity, and stretched from the borders of the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea; and this was probably a rampart raised by the ancient kings of Persia against those swarms of barbarians which dwelt between these two seas.

According to Persian tradition, the city of Derbent was partly repaired and fortified by Alexander the Great. Arrian and Quintus Curtius tell us that Alexander absolutely rebuilt this city. They say indeed that it was on the banks of the Don, but then in their time the Greeks gave the name of Tanais to the river Kur, which runs by the city. It would be a contradiction to suppose that Alexander should build a harbor in the Caspian Sea, on a river that opens into the Black Sea.

There were formerly three or four other ports in different parts of the Caspian Sea, all probably built with the same view, for the several nations to the west, east, and north of that sea, have in all times been barbarians, who had rendered themselves formidable to the rest of the world, from where principally issued those swarms of conquerors who subjected Asia and Europe.

And here I must beg leave to remark how much pleasure authors in all ages have taken in imposing on mankind, and how much they have preferred a vain show of eloquence to matter of fact. Quintus Curtius puts into the mouths of Scythians an admi-

rable speech full of moderation and philosophy, as if the Tartars of those regions had been all so many sages, and Alexander had not been the general nominated by the Greeks against the king of Persia, sovereign of the greatest part of southern Scythia and the Indies. Other rhetoricians, thinking to imitate Quintus Curtius, have studied to make us look upon those savages of Caucasus and its dreary deserts, who lived wholly on rapine and bloodshed, as a people most remarkable for austere virtue and justice, and have painted Alexander, the avenger of Greece, and the conqueror of those who would have enslaved him and his country, as a public robber, who had ravaged the world without justice or reason.

Such writers do not consider that these Tartars were never other than destroyers, and that Alexander built towns in the very country which they inhabited; and in this respect I may venture to compare Peter the Great to Alexander; like him he was assiduous and indefatigable in his pursuits, a lover and friend of the useful arts; he surpassed him as a law-giver, and like him endeavored to change the tide of commerce in the world, and built and repaired at least as many towns as that celebrated hero of antiquity.

On the approach of the Russian army, the governor of Derbent resolved not to sustain a siege, whether he thought he was not able to defend the place, or preferred the czar's protection to that of the tyrant Mahmoud; he brought the keys of the town and citadel, which were silver, and pre-

sented them to Peter, whose army peaceably entered the city, and then encamped on the seashore.

The usurper Mahmoud, already master of a great part of Persia, in vain endeavored to prevent the czar from taking possession of Derbent: he stirred up the neighboring Tartars, and marched into Persia to the relief of the place, but too late, for Derbent was already in the hands of the conqueror.

Peter, however, was not in a condition to push his successes any further at this time. The vessels which were bringing him a fresh supply of provisions, horses and recruits had been cast away near Astrakhan, and the season was far spent. He therefore returned to Moscow, which he entered in triumph; and after his arrival gave a strict account of his expedition to the vice-czar Romadanowski, thus keeping up this extraordinary farce, which, says his eulogium, pronounced in the Academy of Sciences at Paris, should have been performed before all the monarchs of the earth.

The empire of Persia continued to be divided between Hussein and Mahmoud. The former thought to find a protector in the czar, and the other dreaded him as an avenger, who has come to snatch the fruits of his rebellion out of his hands. Mahmoud exerted all his endeavors to stir up the Ottoman Porte against Peter, and for this purpose sent an embassy to Constantinople, while the princes of Daghestan, who were under the protection of the grand seignior, and who had been stripped of their territories by the victorious army of Peter, cried aloud for vengeance. The divan was now alarmed

for the safety of Georgia, which the Turks reckon in the number of their dominions.

The grand seignior was on the point of declaring war against the czar, but was prevented by the courts of Vienna and Paris. The emperor of Germany at the same time declared that, if Russia should be attacked by the Turks, he must be obliged to defend it. The marquis de Bonac, the French ambassador at Constantinople, made a dexterous use of the menaces of the imperial court, and at the same time insinuated that it was contrary to the true interests of the Turkish Empire to suffer a rebel and a usurper to set the example of dethroning sovereigns, and that the czar had done no more than what the grand seignior himself should have done.

During these delicate negotiations, Mir Mahmoud advanced to the gates of Derbent, and had laid waste all the neighboring country in order to cut off all means of subsistence from the Russian army. That part of ancient Hyrcania, now called Gilan, was reduced to a desert, and the inhabitants placed themselves under the protection of the Russians, whom they looked upon as their deliverers.

In this they followed the example of the sufi himself. That unfortunate prince sent a formal embassy to Peter the Great, to request his assistance; but the ambassador had hardly departed when Mir Mahmoud seized on Ispahan and the person of his master.

Thamaseb, the son of the dethroned sufi, who was taken prisoner, found means to escape out of the tyrant's hands, and got together a body of

troops, with which he gave the usurper battle. He seconded his father's entreaties to Peter the Great for his protection, and sent to the ambassador the same instructions which Shah Hussein had given him.

This ambassador, whose name was Ishmael Beg, found that his negotiations had proved successful, even before he arrived in person, for, on landing at Astrakhan, he learned that General Matufkin was going to set out with fresh recruits to reinforce the army in Daghestan. The city of Baku, which with the Persians gives to the Caspian Sea the name of the sea of Bachu, was not yet taken. The ambassador, therefore, gave the Russian general a letter for the inhabitants, in which he exhorted them in his master's name to submit to the emperor of Russia. The ambassador then proceeded to St. Petersburg, and General Matufkin departed to lay siege to the city of Baku. The Persian ambassador arrived at the czar's court, in August, 1723, the very day that tidings were brought of the reduction of that city.

Baku is situated near Shemakha, but is neither so well peopled, nor so rich as the latter. It is chiefly remarkable for the naphtha, with which it furnishes all Persia. Never was a treaty so speedily concluded as that of Ishmael Beg, in September, 1723. Czar Peter promised to march with his forces into Persia, in order to avenge the death of his subjects, and to assist Thamaseb against the usurper of his crown, and the new sufi in return was to cede to him not only the towns of Baku and Derbent, but

likewise the provinces of Gilan, Mazandaran, and Astrabad.

Gilan is, as we have already observed, the ancient South Hyrcania; Mazandaran, which joins to it, is the country of the Mardi, or Mardians; and Astrabad borders on Mazandaran. These were the three principal provinces of the ancient Median kings; so that Peter beheld himself, by means of arms and treaties, in possession of the original kingdom of Cyrus.

It may not be foreign to our subject to observe that, by the articles of this convention, the prices of necessaries to be furnished to the army were settled. A camel was to cost only sixty francs, a pound of bread no more than five farthings, the same weight of beef about six. These prices furnish a convincing proof of the plenty he found in these countries; that possessions in land are of the most intrinsic value, and that money, which is only of nominal worth, was at that time very scarce.

Such was the deplorable state to which Persia was then reduced, that the unfortunate sufi Thamaseb, a wanderer in his own kingdom, and flying before the face of Mahmoud, who had dipped his hands in the blood of his father and his brothers, was forced to entreat the court of Russia and the Turkish divan to accept of one part of his dominions to preserve for him the rest.

It was agreed between Czar Peter, Sultan Achmet III., and Sufi Thamaseb, that the first of these should keep the three provinces above named, and that the porte should have Kasbin, Tabriz, and Eri-

van, besides what she had already taken from the usurper. Thus was this noble kingdom dismembered at once by the Russians, the Turks, and the Persians themselves.

And now Peter might be said to extend his dominions from the farther part of the Baltic Sea, beyond the southern limits of the Caspian. Persia still continued a prey to violations and devastations, and its natives, till then opulent and polite, were now sunk in poverty and barbarism, while the Russian people had arisen from indigence and ignorance to a state of riches and learning. One single man, by resolute and enterprising genius, had brought his country out of obscurity; and another, by his weakness and indolence, had brought destruction on his.

Hitherto we know very little of the private calamities which for so long a time spread desolation over the face of the Persian Empire. It is said that Shah Hussein was so pusillanimous as to place with his own hands the tiara or crown of Persia on the head of Mahmoud, and also that this Mahmoud afterward went mad. Thus the lives of so many thousands of men depend on the caprice of a madman or a fool. They add, furthermore, that Mahmoud, in one of his fits of frenzy, put to death with his own hand all the sons and nephews of Shah Hussein, to the number of a hundred; and that he caused the Gospel of St. John to be read upon his head, in order to purify himself, and to receive a cure for his disorder. These and similar Persian fables have been circulated by our monks, and afterward printed in Paris.

The tyrant, after having murdered his uncle, was in his turn put to death by his nephew Eshreff, who was as cruel and bloody a tyrant as Mahmoud himself.

Shah Thamaseb still continued imploring the assistance of Russia. This Thamaseb, or Shah Thomas, was assisted, and afterward replaced on the throne by the famous Kouli Khan, and was again dethroned by the same Kouli Khan.

The revolutions and wars which Russia had afterward to encounter against the Turks, and in which she proved victorious, the evacuation of the three provinces in Persia, which cost Russia more to keep them than they were worth, are events which do not concern Peter the Great, as they did not happen till several years after his death; it may suffice to observe, that he finished his military career by adding three provinces to his empire on the part next to Persia, after having just before added the same number on that side next to Sweden.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CORONATION OF EMPRESS CATHERINE I., AND THE DEATH OF PETER THE GREAT.

PETER, on his return from his Persian expedition, found himself in a better condition than ever to be the arbiter of the North. He now openly declared himself the protector of Charles XII., whose professed enemy he had been for eighteen years.

He sent for the duke of Holstein, nephew of that monarch, to his court, promised him his eldest daughter in marriage, and began to make preparations for supporting him in his claims on the duchy of Schleswig-Holstein, and even engaged himself so to do by a treaty of alliance, which he concluded with the crown of Sweden, in February, 1724.

He continued the works he had begun all over his empire, to the further extremity of Kamchatka, and for the better direction of them, established an academy of sciences at St. Petersburg. The arts began now to flourish on every side; manufactures were encouraged, the navy was augmented, the army well-provided, and the laws properly enforced. He now enjoyed his glory in full repose; but was desirous of sharing it in a new manner with her who, according to his own declaration, by remedying the disaster of the campaign of Pruth, had been in some measure the instrument of his acquiring that glory.

Accordingly, the coronation of Catherine was performed at Moscow in presence of the duchess of Courland, his eldest brother's daughter, and the duke of Holstein, his intended son-in-law, on May 28, 1724. The declaration which he published on this occasion merits attention; he therein cited the examples of several Christian princes who had placed crowns on the heads of their consorts, also those of the heathen emperors Basilides, Justinian, Heraclius, and Leo the philosopher. He enumerated the services Catherine had done to the state, and in particular in the war against the Turks,

"where my army," says he, "which had been reduced to twenty-two thousand men, had to encounter an enemy above two hundred thousand strong." He does not say in this declaration that the empress was to succeed to the crown after his death; but this ceremony, which was altogether new and unusual in the Russian Empire, was one of those means by which he prepared the minds of his subjects for such an event. Another circumstance that might perhaps furnish a stronger reason to believe that he destined Catherine to succeed him on the throne, was, that he himself marched on foot before her on the day of her coronation, as captain of a new company, which he had created under the name of the "Knights of the Empress."

When they arrived at the cathedral, Peter himself placed the crown on her head; and when she would have fallen down and embraced his knees, he prevented her; and at their return from the church, caused the sceptre and globe to be carried before her. The ceremony was altogether worthy an emperor, for on every public occasion Peter showed as much pomp and magnificence as he did plainness and simplicity in his private manner of living.

Having thus crowned his spouse, he at length determined to give his eldest daughter, Anna Petrowna, in marriage to the duke of Holstein. This princess greatly resembled her father in the face, was very majestic, and of a singular beauty. She was betrothed to the duke of Holstein on Nov. 24, 1724, but with very little ceremony, Peter having for some time past found his health greatly im-

paired; and this, together with some family uneasiness, that perhaps rather increased his disorder, which in a short time proved fatal, permitted him to have but very little relish for feasts or public diversions in this latter part of his life.

The empress Catherine had at that time a young man for chamberlain of her household, whose name was Moens de la Croix, a native of Russia, but of Flemish parents, remarkably handsome and genteel. His sister, Madame de Balc, was lady of the bedchamber to the empress, and these two had the entire management of her household. Being both accused of having taken presents, they were sent to prison, and afterward brought to their trial by express order of the czar; who, by an edict in the year 1714, had forbidden any one holding a place about court to receive any present or other gratuity, on pain of being declared infamous, and suffering death; and this prohibition had been several times renewed.

The brother and sister were found guilty, and received sentence, and all those who had either purchased their services or given them any gratuity in return for the same, were included therein, except the duke of Holstein and his minister, Count Bassewitz; as it is probable that the presents made by that prince to those who had a share in bringing about his marriage with the czar's daughter were not looked upon in a criminal light.

Moens was condemned to be beheaded, and his sister, who was the empress's favorite, to receive eleven strokes of the knout. The two sons of this

lady, one of whom was an officer in the household, and the other a page, were degraded, and sent to serve as private soldiers in the army in Persia.

These severities, though they shock our manners, were perhaps necessary in a country where the observance of the laws is to be enforced only by the most terrifying rigor. The empress solicited her favorite's pardon; but the czar, offended at her application, peremptorily refused her, and in the heat of his passion, seeing a fine looking-glass in the apartment, he with one blow of his fist broke it into a thousand pieces; and turning to the empress: "Thus," said he, "thou seest I can with one stroke of my hand reduce this glass to its original dust." Catherine, in a melting accent, replied, "It is true, you have destroyed one of the greatest ornaments of your palace, but do you think that palace is the more charming for its loss?" This appeased the emperor's wrath; but all the favor that Catherine could obtain for her lady of the bedchamber was, that she should receive only five strokes of the knout instead of eleven.

I should not have related this anecdote, had it not been attested by a public minister, who was eye-witness of the whole transaction, and who, by having made presents to the unfortunate brother and sister, was perhaps himself one of the principal causes of their disgrace and sufferings. It was this affair that emboldened those who judge of everything in the worst light, to spread the report that Catherine hastened the death of her husband, whose choleric disposition filled her with apprehensions

that overweighed the gratitude she owed him for the many favors he had heaped upon her.

These cruel suspicions were confirmed by Catherine's recalling to court her lady of the bedchamber immediately on the death of the czar, and reinstating her in her former position. It is the duty of a historian to relate the public reports which have been circulated in all times in states, on the decease of princes who have been snatched away by a premature death, as if nature was not alone sufficient to put a period to the existence of a crowned head as well as that of a beggar; but it is likewise the duty of a historian to show how far such reports were rashly or unjustly formed.

There is an immense distance between the momentary discontent which may arise from the morose or harsh behavior of a husband, and the desperate resolution of poisoning that husband, who is at the same time our sovereign and benefactor in the highest degree. The danger attending such a design would have been as great as it was criminal. Catherine had at that time a powerful party against her, who espoused the cause of the son of the deceased czarevitch. Nevertheless, neither that faction, nor any one person about the court, once suspected the czarina; and the vague rumors which were spread on this head were founded only on the mistaken notions of foreigners, who were very imperfectly acquainted with the affair, and who chose to indulge the wretched pleasure of accusing of heinous crimes those whom they thought interested in their commission. But it was even doubtful

whether this was at all the case with Catherine. It was far from being certain that she was to succeed her husband. She had been crowned indeed, but only in the character of wife of the reigning sovereign, and not as one who was to enjoy the sovereign authority after his death.

Peter, in his declaration, had only ordered this coronation as a matter of ceremony, and not as conferring a right of governing. He therein only cited the examples of emperors, who had caused their consorts to be crowned, but not of those who had conferred on them the royal authority. In fine, at the very time of Peter's illness, several persons believed that the princess Anna Petrowna would succeed him jointly with her husband, the duke of Holstein, or that the czar would nominate his grandson for his successor; therefore, instead of Catherine's being interested in the death of the emperor, she rather seemed concerned in the preservation of his life.

It is undeniable that Peter had, for some time, been troubled with an abscess in the bladder, and a stoppage of urine. The mineral waters of Olnitz, and some others, which he had been advised to use, had proved of very little service to him, and he had found himself growing sensibly weaker, ever since the beginning of the year 1724. His labors, from which he would not allow himself any respite, increased his disorder, and hastened his end: his malady became now more and more desperate; he felt burning pains, which threw him into an almost constant delirium. Whenever he had a moment's relief,

he endeavored to write, but he could only scrawl a few lines that were wholly unintelligible; and it was, with the greatest difficulty, that the following words, in the Russian language, could be distinguished. "Let everything be given to ——."

He then called for the princess Anna Petrowna, in order to dictate to her, but by the time she could come to his bedside, he had lost his speech, and fell into a coma, which lasted sixteen hours. The empress Catherine did not quit his bedside for three nights together. At length, he breathed his last in her arms, on Jan. 28, 1725, about four o'clock in the morning.

His body was conveyed into the great hall of the palace, accompanied by all the imperial family, the senate, all the principal personages of state, and an innumerable concourse of people. It was there exposed on a bed of state, and everyone was permitted to approach and kiss his hand, till the day of his interment, which was on the 10th of March, 1725.*

It has been thought, and it has been asserted in print, that he had appointed Catherine to succeed

*Catherine paid the last duties to her husband's ashes, with a pomp becoming the greatest monarch that Russia, or perhaps any other country, had ever known; and though there is no court of Europe, where splendor and magnificence is carried to a greater height on these occasions than in Russia, yet it may with great truth be said, that she even surpassed herself in the funeral honors paid to her great Peter. She purchased the most precious kinds of marble, and employed some of the ablest sculptors of Italy to erect a mausoleum to this hero, which might, if possible, transmit the remembrance of his great actions to the most distant ages. Not satisfied with this, she caused a medal to be struck, worthy of the ancients. On one side was represented the bust of the late emperor, with these words.

him in the empire, by his last will; but the truth is, he never made any will, or at least none that ever appeared; a most astonishing negligence in so great a legislator, and a proof that he did not think his disorder mortal.

No one knew, at the time of his death, who was to succeed him: he left behind him his grandson, Peter, son of the unfortunate Alexis, and his eldest daughter, Anna, married to the duke of Holstein. There was a considerable faction in favor of young Peter; but Prince Menshikoff, who had never had any other interests than those of the empress Catherine, took care to be beforehand with all parties, and their designs, and accordingly, when the czar was upon the point of giving up the ghost, he caused the empress to remove into another apartment of the palace, where all their friends were assembled ready: he had the royal treasures conveyed into the citadel, and secured the guards in his interest, as likewise the archbishop of Novgorod, and then they held a private council, in presence of the empress Catherine, and one Macarof, a secretary, in whom

"Peter the Great, Emperor and Sovereign of all Russia, born May xxx. mdclxxii." On the reverse was the empress, sitting, with the crown on her head, the globe and sceptre by her side on a table, and before her were a sphere, sea charts, plans, mathematical instruments, arms, and a caduceus. At distances, in three different places, were represented an edifice on the seacoast, with a platform before it, a ship and galley at sea, and the late emperor in the clouds, supported by eternity, looking on the empress, and showing her with his right hand all the treasures he had left her, with these words, "Behold what I have left you." In the exergue was "deceased 28 January, 1725." Several of these medals she ordered to be struck in gold, to the weight of fifty ducats, and distributed among the

they could confide, at which the duke of Holstein's minister assisted.

At the breaking up of this council, the empress returned to the czar's bedside, who soon after yielded up the ghost in her arms. As soon as his death was made known, the principal senators and general officers repaired to the palace, where the

foreign ministers, and all the grandees of the empire, as a testimony of her respect and gratitude to the memory of her late husband, to whose generosity she took pleasure in owning herself indebted for her present elevated station.

Mortley gives us the following, as the czar's epitaph:

Here lieth all that could die of a Man immortal,
PETER ALEXEIEVICH:
It is almost superfluous to add,
GREAT EMPEROR OF RUSSIA:
A Title! which, instead of adding to his glory,
Became glorious by his wearing it.
Let Antiquity be dumb,
Nor boast her Alexander, or her Cæsar.
How easy was Victory
To Leaders, who were followed by Heroes?
And whose Soldiers felt a noble disdain
At being thought less vigilant than their Generals?
But HE,
Who in this place first knew rest,
Found subjects base and inactive,
Unwarlike, unlearned, intractable,
Neither covetous of Fame, nor fearless of danger;
Creatures, with the names of men;
But with qualities rather brutal than rational!
Yet, even these
He polished from their native ruggedness;
And, breaking out like a new sun,
To illuminate the minds of a people,
Dispelled their night of hereditary darkness;
And, by force of his invincible Influence,
Taught them to conquer
Even the Conquerors of Germany.
Other Princes have commanded victorious armies;
This Commander created them.
Blush, O Art! at a hero who owed thee nothing.
Exult, O Nature! for thine was this prodigy.

empress made a speech to them, which Prince Menshikoff answered in the name of all present. The empress having withdrawn, they proceeded to consider the proper forms to be observed on the occasion, when Theophanes, archbishop of Pskoff, told the assembly that, on the eve of the coronation of the empress Catherine, the deceased czar had declared to him, that his sole reason for placing the crown on her head was that she might wear it after his death; upon which the assembly unanimously signed the proclamation, and Catherine succeeded her husband on the throne the very day of his death.

Peter the Great was regretted by all those whom he had uplifted; and the descendants of those who had been sticklers for the ancient customs soon began to look on him as their father; foreign nations, who have beheld the duration of his establishments, have always expressed the highest admiration for his memory, acknowledging that he was actuated by a more than common prudence and wisdom, and not by a vain desire of doing extraordinary things. All Europe knows, that though he was fond of fame, he coveted it only for noble principles; that though he had faults, they never obscured his noble qualities, and that though, as a man, he was liable to errors, as a monarch, he was always great: he everywhere forced nature, in his subjects, in himself, by sea and land; but he forced her only to render her more pleasing and noble. The arts, which he transplanted with his own hands into countries till then in a manner savage, have flourished, and produced fruits

which are lasting testimonies of his genius, and will render his memory immortal, since they now appear as natives of those places to which he introduced them. The civil, political, and military government, trade, manufactures, the arts and the sciences, have all been carried on, according to his plan, and by an event not to be paralleled in history: we have seen four women successively ascend the throne after him, who have maintained, in full vigor, all the great designs he accomplished, and have completed those which he had begun.

The court has undergone some revolutions since his death, but the empire has not suffered one. Its splendor was increased by Catherine I. It triumphed over the Turks and the Swedes under Anna Petrowna; and under Elizabeth, it conquered Prussia, and a part of Pomerania; and lastly, it has tasted the sweets of peace, and has seen the arts flourish in fulness and security in the reign of Catherine II.

Let the historians of that nation enter into the minutest circumstances of the new creation, the wars and undertakings of Peter the Great: let them rouse the emulation of their countrymen, by celebrating those heroes who assisted this monarch in his labors, in the field, and in the cabinet. It is sufficient for a stranger, a disinterested admirer of merit, to have endeavored to portray that great man, who learned of Charles XII. to conquer him, who twice quitted his dominions, in order to govern them the better, who worked with his own hands, in almost all the useful and necessary arts, to set an example of in-

struction to his people, and who was the founder and the father of his empire.*

Princes, who reign over states long since civilized, may say to themselves, "If a man, assisted only by his own genius, has been capable of doing such great things in the frozen climes of ancient Scythia, what may not be expected from us, in kingdoms where the accumulated labors of many ages have rendered the way so easy?"

*The following anecdote, communicated by a nobleman of the strictest probity, who was himself an eye-witness of the fact, will give us a clear insight into the character and disposition of Peter I. In one of the many plots which was formed against the life and government of this monarch, there was among the number of those seized, a soldier belonging to his own regiment of guards. Peter being told by his officers that this man had always behaved extremely well, had a curiosity to see him, and learn from his own mouth what might have been his inducement to be concerned in a plot against him, and to this purpose he dressed himself in a plain garb, and so as not to be known by the man again, went to the prison where he was confined, when after some conversation, he said: "I should be glad to know, friend, what were your reasons for being concerned in an attempt against the emperor, your master, as I am certain that he never did you any injury, but on the contrary has a regard for you, as being a brave soldier, and one who has always done your duty well in the field; and therefore, if you were to show the least remorse for what you have done, I am persuaded that the emperor would forgive you; but before I interest myself in your behalf, you must tell me what motives you had to join the mutineers, and I repeat to you again, that the emperor is naturally so good and compassionate, that I am certain he will give you your pardon."

"I know little or nothing of the emperor," replied the soldier, "for I never saw him but at a distance; but he caused my father's head to be cut off some time ago, for being concerned in a former rebellion, and it is the duty of a son to avenge the death of his father, on that of the person who took away his life. If, then, the emperor is really so good and merciful as you have represented him,

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

RELATIVE TO THIS HISTORY, AGREEABLE TO THE TRANSLATIONS MADE AT THEIR FIRST PUBLICATION, BY ORDER OF CZAR PETER I.

Sentence Pronounced against the Czarevitch Alexis, June 24, 1718.

BY VIRTUE of an express ordinance issued by his czarish majesty, and signed by his own hand on June 13th, for the judgment of the czarevitch Alexis Petrowitz, in relation to his crimes and transgressions against his father and sovereign; the undernamed ministers and senators, estates military and civil, after having assembled several times in the regency-chamber of the senate of St. Petersburg, and having heard read the original writings and testimonies given against the czarevitch, as also his majesty's admonitory letters to that prince, and his answers to them in his own writing, and other acts relating to the process, and likewise the criminal informations, declarations, and confessions of the czarevitch, partly written with his own hand, and

counsel him, for his own safety, not to pardon me, for were he to restore me my liberty, the first use I should make of it would be, to engage in some new attempt against his life, nor should I ever rest till I had accomplished my design; therefore, the securest method he can take will be to order my head to be struck off immediately, without which his own life is not in safety." The czar in vain used all the arguments he could think of, to set before this desperado the folly and injustice of such sentiments; he still persisted in what he had declared, and Peter departed, greatly chagrined at the failure of his visit, and gave orders for the execution of this man with the rest of his accomplices.

partly delivered by word of mouth to his father and sovereign, before the several persons undernamed, constituted by his czarish majesty's anthority to the effect of the present judgment, do acknowledge and declare, that though, according to the laws of the Russian Empire, it belongs not to them, the natural subjects of his czarish majesty's sovereign dominions, to take cognizance of an affair of this nature, which for its importance depends solely on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose power, unlimited by any law, is derived from God alone; yet in submission to his ordinance who has given them this liberty, and after mature reflection, observing the dictates of their consciences without fear, flattery, or respect of persons, having nothing before their eyes but the divine laws applicable to the present case, the canons and rules of councils, the authority of the holy fathers and doctors of the Church, and taking also for their rule the instruction of the archbishops and clergy assembled at St. Petersburg on this occasion, and conforming themselves to the laws and constitutions of this empire which are agreeable to those of other nations, especially the Greeks and Romans, and other Christian princes; they unanimously agreed and pronounced the czarevitch Alexis Petrowitz *to be worthy of death,* for the aforesaid crimes and capital transgressions against his sovereign and father, he being his czarish majesty's son and subject; and that notwithstanding the promise given by his czarish majesty to the czarevitch, in a letter sent by M. Tolstoi and Captain Romanzoff, dated from Spa, July 10, 1717,

to pardon his elopement if he voluntarily returned, as the czarevitch himself acknowledges with gratitude in his answer to that letter dated from Naples, Oct. 4, 1717, wherein he returns his thanks to his majesty for the pardon he had promised him solely on condition of his speedy and voluntary return; yet he has forfeited and rendered himself unworthy of that pardon, by renewing and continuing his former transgressions, as is fully set forth in his majesty's manifesto of February 3 in this present year, and for not returning voluntarily and of his own accord.

And although his majesty did, upon the arrival of the czarevitch at Moscow, and his humbly confessing in writing his crimes, and asking pardon for them, take pity on him, as is natural for every father to act toward a son, and at the audience held in the great hall of the castle the said third day of February did promise him full pardon for all his crimes and transgressions, it was only on condition that he would declare without reserve or restriction all his designs, and who were his counsellors and abettors therein, but that if he concealed any one person or thing, in such case the promised pardon should be null and void, which conditions the czarevitch did at that time accept and receive with all outward tokens of gratitude and obedience, solemnly swearing on the holy cross and the blessed evangelists, and in the presence of all those assembled at that time and for that purpose in the cathedral church, that he would faithfully, and without reserve, declare the whole truth.

His majesty did also the next day confirm to the czarevitch, in writing, the said promise, in the interrogatories which hereafter follow, and which his majesty caused to be delivered to him, having first written at the beginning what follows:

"As you did yesterday receive your pardon, on condition that you would confess all the circumstances of your flight, and whatever relates thereto, but if you concealed any part thereof, you should answer for it with your life, and as you have already made some confessions, it is expected of you for our more full satisfaction, and your own safety, to commit the same to writing, in such order as shall in the course of your examination be pointed out to you."

And at the end, under the seventh question, there was again written with his czarish majesty's own hand:

"Declare to us, and discover whatever has any relation to this affair, though it be not here expressed, and clear yourself as if it were at confession; for if you conceal anything that shall by any other means be afterward discovered, do not impute the consequence to us, since you have been already told, that in such case the pardon granted you should be null and void."

Notwithstanding all which, the answers and confessions of the czarevitch were delivered without any sincerity; he not only concealing many of his accomplices, but also the capital circumstances relating to his own transgressions, particularly his rebellious design in usurping the throne even in the lifetime of his father, flattering himself that the populace would declare in his favor; all which has since been fully discovered in the criminal process, after he had refused to make a discovery himself, as has appeared by the above presents.

Thus it has appeared by the whole conduct of the czarevitch, as well as by the confessions which he

both delivered in writing and by word of mouth particularly, that he was not disposed to wait for the succession in the manner in which his father had left it to him after his death, according to equity, and the order of nature which God has established; but intended to take the crown off the head of his father, while living, and set it upon his own, not only by a civil insurrection, but by the assistance of a foreign force, which he had actually requested.

The czarevitch has hereby rendered himself unworthy of the clemency and pardon promised him by the emperor, his father; and since the laws divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, condemn to death without mercy, not only those whose attempts against their father and sovereign have been proved by testimonies and writings; but even such as have been convicted of an intention to rebel, and of having formed a base design to kill their sovereign, and usurp the throne; what shall we think of a rebellious design, almost unparalleled in history, joined to that of a horrid parricide, against him who was his father in a double capacity; a father of great lenity and indulgence, who brought up the czarevitch from the cradle with more than paternal care and tenderness; who earnestly endeavored to fit him for government, and with incredible pains, and indefatigable application, to instruct him in the military art, and qualify him to succeed to so great an empire? With how much stronger reason does such a design deserve to be punished with death?

It is therefore with hearts full of affliction, and eyes streaming with tears, that we, as subjects and

servants, pronounce this sentence; considering that it belongs not to us to give judgment in a case of so great importance, and especially to pronounce against the son of our most precious sovereign lord, the czar. Nevertheless, it being his pleasure that we should act in this capacity, we, by these presents, declare our real opinion, and pronounce this sentence of condemnation with a pure and Christian conscience, as we hope to be able to answer for it at the just, awful, and impartial tribunal of Almighty God.

We submit, however, this sentence, which we now pass, to the sovereign power, the will, and merciful revisal of his czarish majesty, our most gracious sovereign.

THE PEACE OF NYSTAD.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

Be it known by these presents, that whereas a bloody, long, and expensive war has arisen and subsisted for several years past, between his late majesty, King Charles XII. of glorious memory, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, etc., his successors to the throne of Sweden, the lady Ulrica, queen of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, etc., and the kingdom of Sweden, on the one part; and between his czarish majesty, Peter the First, emperor of all the Russias, etc., and the empire of Russia, on the other part; the two powers have thought

proper to exert their endeavors to find out means to put a period to those troubles, and prevent the further effusion of so much innocent blood; and it has pleased the Almighty to dispose the hearts of both powers, to appoint a meeting of their ministers plenipotentiary, to treat of, and conclude a firm, sincere and lasting peace, and perpetual friendship between the two powers, their dominions, provinces, countries, vassals, subjects and inhabitants; namely, Mr. John Liliensted, one of the most honorable privy council to his majesty, the king of Sweden, his kingdom and chancery, and Baron Otto Reinhol Stroemfeld, intendant of the copper mines and fiefs of Dalders, on the part of his said majesty; and on the part of his czarish majesty, Count Jacob Daniel Bruce, his general adjutant, president of the colleges of mines and manufactories, and knight of the order of St. Andrew and the White Eagle, and Mr. Henry John Frederick Osterman, one of his said majesty's privy counsellors in his chancery: which plenipotentiary ministers, being assembled at Nystad, and having communicated to one another their respective commissions, and imploring the divine assistance, did enter upon this important and salutary enterprise, and have, by the grace and blessing of God, concluded the following peace between the crown of Sweden and his czarish majesty.

Art. I. There shall be now and henceforward a perpetual and inviolable peace, sincere union, and indissoluble friendship, between his majesty, Frederick I., king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, his successors to the crown and kingdom of Sweden, his dominions, provinces, countries, villages, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants, as well

within the Roman Empire as out of said empire, on the one side; and his czarish majesty, Peter I., emperor of all the Russias, etc., his successors to the throne of Russia, and all his countries, villages, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants, on the other side; in such wise, that, for the future, neither of the two reconciled powers shall commit, or suffer to be committed, any hostility, either privately or publicly, directly or indirectly, nor shall in any wise assist the enemies of each other, on any pretext whatever, nor contract any alliance with them, that may be contrary to this peace, but shall always maintain and preserve a sincere friendship toward each other, and as much as in them lies support their mutual honor, advantage, and safety; as likewise prevent, to the utmost of their power, any injury or vexation with which either of the reconciled parties may be threatened by any other power.

ART. II. It is further mutually agreed upon betwixt the two parties, that a general pardon and act of oblivion for all hostilities committed during the war, either by arms or otherwise, shall be strictly observed, so far as that neither party shall ever henceforth either call to mind, or take vengeance for the same, particularly in regard to persons of state, and subjects who have entered into the service of either of the two parties during the war, and have thereby become enemies to the other, except only the Russian Cossacks, who enlisted in the service of the king of Sweden, and whom his czarish majesty will not consent to have included in the said general pardon, notwithstanding the intercession made for them by the king of Sweden.

ART. III. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease both here and in the grand duchy of Finland in fifteen days, or sooner, if possible, after the regular exchange of the ratifications; and to this intent the conclusion of the peace shall be published without delay. And in case that, after the expiration of the said term, any hostilities should be committed by either party, either by sea or land, in any manner whatsoever, through ignorance of

the conclusion of the peace, such offence shall by no means prejudice the conclusion of said peace; on the contrary, each shall make a reciprocal exchange of both men and effects that may be taken after the said term.

ART. IV. His majesty the king of Sweden does, by the present treaty, as well for himself as for his successors to the throne and kingdom of Sweden, cede to his czarish majesty, and his successors to the Russian empire, in full, irrevocable and everlasting possession, the provinces which have been taken by his czarish majesty's arms from the crown of Sweden during this war, viz., Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and a part of Karelia, as likewise the district of the fiefs of Viborg, specified hereafter in the article for regulating the limits; the towns and fortresses of Riga, Dünamünde, Pernau, Revel, Dörpt, Nerva, Viborg, Kexholm, and the other towns, fortresses, harbors, countries, districts, rivers, and coasts belonging to the provinces; as likewise the islands of Ösel, Dagö, Möen, and all the other islands from the frontiers of Courland, toward the coasts of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, and on the east side of Revel, and in the road of Viborg toward the southeast, with all the present inhabitants of those islands, and of the aforesaid provinces, towns, and countries; and in general, all their appurtenances, dependencies, prerogatives, rights, and advantages, without exception, in like manner as the crown of Sweden possessed them.

To which purpose, his majesty the king of Sweden renounces forever in the most solemn manner, as well for his own part, as for his successors, and for the whole kingdom of Sweden, all pretensions which they have hitherto had, or could have to the said provinces, islands, countries, and towns; and all the inhabitants thereof shall, by virtue of these presents, be discharged from the oath of allegiance, which they have taken to the crown of Sweden, in such wise as that his Swedish majesty, and the kingdom of Sweden, shall never hereafter either claim or demand the same, on any pretence whatsoever; but, on the contrary, they shall be and remain incorporated forever into the empire of

Russia. Moreover, his Swedish majesty and the kingdom of Sweden promise by these presents to assist and support from henceforth his czarish majesty, and his successors to the empire of Russia, in the peaceable possession of the said provinces, islands, countries, and towns; and that they will find out and deliver up to the persons authorized by his czarish majesty for that purpose, all the records and papers principally belonging to those places which have been taken away and carried into Sweden during the war.

ART. V. His czarish majesty, in return, promises to evacuate and restore to his Swedish majesty, and the kingdom of Sweden, within the space of four weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or sooner if possible, the grand duchy of Finland, except only that part thereof which has been reserved by the following regulation of the limits which shall belong to his czarish majesty, so that his said czarish majesty, and his successors, never shall have or bring the least claim or demand on the said duchy, on any pretence whatever. His czarish majesty further declares and promises, that certain and prompt payment of two millions of crowns shall be made without any discount to the deputies of the king of Sweden, on condition that they produce and give sufficient receipts, as agreed upon; and the said payment shall be made in such coin as shall be agreed upon by a separate article, which shall be of equal force as if inserted in the body of this treaty.

ART. VI. His majesty, the king of Sweden, does further reserve to himself, in regard to trade, the liberty of buying corn yearly at Riga, Revel and Arensburg, to the amount of fifty thousand rubles, which corn shall be transported into Sweden, without paying duty or any other taxes, on producing a certificate showing that such corn has been purchased for the use of his Swedish majesty, or by his subjects, charged with the care of making this purchase by his said majesty, and such right shall not be subject to, or depend on any exigency, wherein his czarish majesty may find it necessary, either on account of a bad harvest,

or some other important reasons, to prohibit in general the exportation of corn to any other nation.

Art. VII. His czarish majesty does also promise, in the most solemn manner, that he will in no wise interfere with the private affairs of the kingdom of Sweden, nor with the form of government, which has been regulated and established by the oath of allegiance, and unanimous consent of the states of said kingdom; neither will he assist therein any person whatever, in any manner, directly or indirectly; but, on the contrary, will endeavor to hinder and prevent any disturbance happening, provided his czarish majesty has timely notice of the same, who will on all such occasions act as a sincere friend and good neighbor to the crown of Sweden.

Art. VIII. And as they mutually intend to establish a firm, sincere, and lasting peace, to which purpose it is very necessary to regulate the limits so that neither of the parties can harbor any jealousy, but that each shall peaceably possess whatever has been surrendered to him by this treaty of peace, they have thought proper to declare that the two empires shall from henceforth and forever have the following limits: Beginning on the northern coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, near Wickolax, from whence they shall extend inland to within half a league of the seacoast, and from the distance of half a league from the sea as far as opposite to Willayoki, and from thence farther inland; so that from the seaside, and opposite to Rohel, there shall be a distance of about three-quarters of a league, in a direct line, to the road which leads from Viborg to Lapstrand, at three leagues distance from Viborg, and which proceeds the same distance of three leagues toward the north by Viborg, in a direct line to the former limits between Russia and Sweden, even before the reduction of the district of Kexholm under the government of the king of Sweden. Those ancient limits extend eight leagues toward the north, from thence they run in a direct line through the district of Kexholm, to the place where the harbor of Porogerai, which begins near the town of Kudu-

magube, joins to the ancient limits between Russia and Sweden; so that his majesty, the king, and the kingdom of Sweden, shall henceforth possess all that part lying west and north beyond the above specified limits, and his czarish majesty and the empire of Russia all that part which is situated east and south of the said limits. And as his czarish majesty surrenders from henceforth to his Swedish majesty and the kingdom of Sweden, a part of the district of Kexholm, which belonged heretofore to the empire of Russia, he promises, in the most solemn manner, in regard to himself and successors to the throne of Russia, that he never will make any future claim to this said district of Kexholm, on any account whatever; but the said district shall hereafter be and remain incorporated into the kingdom of Sweden. As to the limits in the country of Lamparque, they shall remain on the same footing as they were before the beginning of this war between the two empires. It is further agreed upon, that commissaries shall be appointed by each party, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, to regulate the limits as aforesaid.

Art. IX. His czarish majesty further promises to maintain all the inhabitants of the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia and Ösel, as well nobles as plebeians, and the towns, magistrates, companies and trades in the full enjoyment of the same privileges, customs, and prerogatives which they have enjoyed under the dominion of his Swedish majesty.

Art. X. There shall not hereafter be any violence offered to the consciences of the inhabitants of the ceded countries; on the contrary, his czarish majesty engages on his side to preserve and maintain the evangelical (Lutheran) religion on the same footing as under the Swedish government, provided there is likewise a free liberty of conscience allowed to those of the Greek religion.

Art. XI. In regard to the reductions and liquidations made in the reign of the late king of Sweden in Livonia, Esthonia, and Ösel, to the great injury of the subjects and

inhabitants of those countries, which, conformable to the justice of the affair in question, obliged his late majesty the king of Sweden, of glorious memory, to promise, by an ordinance—which was published April 13, 1700, that if any one of his subjects could fairly prove, that the goods which had been confiscated were their property, justice should be done them, whereby several subjects of the said countries have had their confiscated effects restored to them—his czarish majesty engages and promises, that justice shall be done to every person, whether residing or not, who has a just claim or pretension to any lands in Livonia, Esthonia, or the province of Ösel, and can make full proof thereof, and that such person shall be reinstated in the possession of his lands and effects.

Art. XII. There shall likewise be immediate restitution made, conformable to the general amnesty regulated and agreed by the second article, to such of the inhabitants of Livonia, Esthonia, and the Island of Ösel, who may during this war have joined the king of Sweden, together with all their effects, lands, and houses, which have been confiscated and given to others, as well in the towns of these provinces, as in those of Narva and Viborg, notwithstanding they may have passed during the said war by inheritance or otherwise into other hands, without any exception or restraint, even though the proprietors should be actually in Sweden, either as prisoners or otherwise; and such restitution shall take place as soon as each person is re-naturalized by his respective government, and produces his documents relating to his right; on the other hand, these proprietors shall by no means lay claim to, or pretend to any part of, the revenues, which may have been received by those who were in possession in consequence of the confiscation, nor to any other compensation for their losses in the war or otherwise. And all persons, who are thus put in re-possession of their effects and lands, shall be obliged to do homage to his czarish majesty, their present sovereign, and further to behave themselves as faithful vassals and subjects; and when they have taken the usual

oath of allegiance, they shall be at liberty to leave their own country to go and live in any other, which is in alliance and friendship with the Russian empire, as also to enter into the service of neutral powers, or to continue therein if already engaged, as they shall think proper. On the other hand, in regard to those who do not choose to do homage to his czarish majesty, they shall be allowed the space of three years from the publication of the peace, to sell or dispose of their effects, lands, and all belonging to them, to the best advantage, without paying any more than is paid by every other person, agreeably to the laws and statutes of the country. And if hereafter it should happen that an inheritance should devolve to any person according to the laws of the country, and that such person shall not as yet have taken the oath of allegiance to his czarish majesty, he shall in such case be obliged to take the same at the time of entering on the possession of his inheritance, otherwise to sell off all his effects in the space of one year.

Also those who have advanced money on lands in Livonia, Esthonia, and the Island of Ösel, and have lawful security for the same, shall enjoy their mortgages peaceably, until both capital and interest are discharged; on the other hand, the mortgagees shall not claim any interests, which expired during the war, and which have not been demanded or paid; but those who in either of these cases have the administration of the said effects shall be obliged to do homage to his czarish majesty. This likewise extends to all those who remain in his czarish majesty's dominions, and who shall have the same liberty to dispose of their effects in Sweden, and in those countries which have been surrendered to that crown by this peace. Moreover, the subjects of each of the reconciled powers shall be mutually supported in all their lawful claims and demands, whether on the public, or on individuals within the dominions of either of the two powers, and immediate justice shall be done them, so that every person may be reinstated in the possession of what justly belongs to him.

Art. XIII. All contributions in money shall from the signing of this treaty cease in the grand duchy of Finland, which his czarish majesty by the fifth article of this treaty cedes to his Swedish majesty and the kingdom of Sweden: on the other hand, the duchy of Finland shall furnish his czarish majesty's troops with the necessary provisions and forage gratis, until they shall have entirely evacuated the said duchy, on the same footing as has been practised heretofore; and his czarish majesty shall prohibit and forbid, under the severest penalties, the dislodging of any ministers or peasants of the Finnish nation, contrary to their inclinations, or that the least injury be done to them. In consideration of which, and as it will be permitted his czarish majesty, upon evacuating the said countries and towns, to take with him his great and small cannon, with their carriages and other appurtenances, and the magazines and other warlike stores which he shall think fit. The inhabitants shall furnish a sufficient number of horses and wagons as far as the frontiers: and also, if the whole of this cannot be executed according to the stipulated terms, and if any part of such artillery, etc., is necessitated to be left behind, then, and in such cases, that which is so left shall be properly taken care of, and afterward delivered to his czarish majesty's deputies, whenever it shall be agreeable to them, and likewise be transported to the frontiers in manner as above. If his czarish majesty's troops shall have found and sent out of the country any deeds or papers belonging to the grand duchy of Finland, strict search shall be made for the same, and all of them that can be found shall be faithfully restored to deputies of his Swedish majesty.

Art. XIV. All the prisoners on each side, of whatsoever nation, rank, and condition, shall be set at liberty immediately after the ratification of this treaty, without any ransom; at the same time every prisoner shall either pay or give sufficient security for the payment of all debts by him contracted. The prisoners on each side shall be furnished with the necessary horses and wagons gratis during

the time allotted for their return home, in proportion to the distance from the frontiers. In regard to such prisoners who shall have sided with one or the other party, or who shall choose to settle in the dominions of either of the two powers, they shall have full liberty so to do without restriction; and this liberty shall likewise extend to all those who have been compelled to serve either party during the war, who may in like manner remain where they are, or return home; except such who have voluntarily embraced the Greek religion in compliance to his czarish majesty; for which purpose each party shall order that the edicts be published and made known in their respective dominions.

Art. XV. His majesty, the king, and the republic of Poland, as allies to his czarish majesty, are expressly comprehended in this treaty of peace, and have equal right thereto, as if the treaty of peace between them and the crown of Sweden had been inserted here at full length; to which purpose all hostilities whatsoever shall cease in general throughout all the kingdoms, countries, and patrimonies belonging to the two reconciled parties, whether situated within or out of the Roman Empire, and there shall be a solid and lasting peace established between the two aforesaid powers. And as no plenipotentiary on the part of his Polish majesty and the republic of Poland has assisted at this treaty of peace, held at Nystad, and as consequently they could not at one and the same time renew the peace by a solemn treaty between his majesty, the king of Poland, and the crown of Sweden, his majesty, the king of Sweden, does therefore engage and promise that he will send plenipotentiaries to open the conferences so soon as a place shall be appointed for the said meeting, in order to conclude, through the mediation of his czarish majesty, a lasting peace between the two crowns, provided nothing is therein contained which may be prejudicial to this treaty of perpetual peace made with his czarish majesty.

Art. XVI. A free trade shall be regulated and estab-

lished as soon as possible, which shall subsist both by sea and land between the two powers, their dominions, subjects, and inhabitants, by means of a separate treaty on this head, to the good and advantage of their respective dominions; and in the meantime the subjects of Russia and Sweden shall have leave to trade freely in the empire of Russia and kingdom of Sweden, so soon as the treaty of peace is ratified, after paying the usual duties on the several kinds of merchandise; so that the subjects of Russia and Sweden shall reciprocally enjoy the same privileges and prerogatives as are enjoyed by the closest friends of either of the said states.

Art. XVII. Restitution shall be made on both sides, after the ratification of the peace, not only of the magazines which were, before the commencement of the war, established in certain trading towns belonging to the two powers, but also liberty shall be reciprocally granted to the subjects of his czarish majesty and the king of Sweden to establish magazines in the towns, harbors, and other places subject to both or either of the said powers.

Art. XVIII. If any Swedish ships of war or merchant vessels shall have the misfortune to be wrecked, or cast away by stress of weather, or any other accident, on the coast and harbors of Russia, his czarish majesty's subjects shall be obliged to give them all aid and assistance in their power to save their rigging and effects, and faithfully to restore whatever may be driven on shore, if demanded, provided they are properly rewarded. And the subjects of his majesty, the king of Sweden, shall do the same in regard to such Russian ships and effects as may have the misfortune to be wrecked or otherwise lost on the coasts of Sweden; for which purpose, and to prevent all ill treatment, robbing, and plundering, which commonly happen on such melancholy occasions, his czarish majesty and the king of Sweden will cause a most rigorous prohibition to be issued, and all who shall be found transgressing in this point shall be punished on the spot.

Art. XIX. And to prevent all possible cause or oc-

casion of misunderstanding between the two parties, in relation to sea affairs, they have concluded and determined that any Swedish ship of war, of whatever number or size, that shall hereafter pass by any of his czarish majesty's forts or castles, shall salute the same with their cannon, which compliment shall be directly returned in the same manner by the Russian fort or castle; and, *vice versa,* any Russian ships of war, of whatever number or size, that shall hereafter pass by any fort or castle belonging to his Swedish majesty, shall salute the same with a discharge of their cannon, which compliment shall be instantly returned in the same manner by the Swedish fort; and in case one or more Swedish and Russian ships shall meet at sea, or in a harbor or elsewhere, they shall salute one another with a common discharge, as is usually practised on such occasions between the ships of Sweden and Denmark.

Art. XX. It is mutually agreed between the two powers, no longer to defray the expenses of the ministers of the two powers, as has been done hitherto; but their respective ministers, plenipotentiaries, and envoys, shall hereafter defray their own expenses and those of their own attendants, as well on their journey, as during their stay, and back to their respective place of residence. On the other hand, either of the two parties, on receiving timely notice of the arrival of an envoy, shall order that his subjects give him all the assistance that may be necessary to escort him safely on his journey.

Art. XXI. His majesty, the king of Sweden, does on his part comprehend his majesty, the king of Great Britain, in this treaty of peace, reserving only the differences subsisting between his czarish and his Britannic majesties, which they shall immediately endeavor to terminate in a friendly manner; and such other powers, who shall be named by the two reconciled parties within the space of three months, shall likewise be included in this treaty of peace.

Art. XXII. In case any misunderstanding shall here-

after arise between the states and subjects of Sweden and Russia, it shall by no means prejudice this treaty of perpetual peace; which shall nevertheless always be and remain in full force agreeably to its intent, and commissaries shall without delay be appointed on each side to inquire into and adjust all disputes.

ART. XXIII. All those who have been guilty of high treason, murder, theft, and other crimes, and those who deserted from Sweden to Russia, and from Russia to Sweden, either singly or with their wives and children, shall be immediately sent back, provided the complaining party, of the country whence they made their escape, shall think fit to recall them, let them be of what nation soever, and in the same condition as they were at their arrival, together with their wives and children, and likewise with all they had stolen, plundered, or taken away with them in their flight.

ART. XXIV. The exchange of the ratifications of this treaty of peace shall be reciprocally made at Nystad, within the space of three weeks after the day of signing the same, or sooner if possible. In witness whereof, two copies of this treaty, exactly corresponding with each other, have been drawn up, and confirmed by the plenipotentiary ministers on each side, in virtue of the authority they have received from their respective sovereigns; which copies they have signed with their own hands, and sealed with their own seals. Done at Nystad, this 30th day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1721.—O. S.

JEAN LILIENSTED.
OTTO REINHOLD STROEMFELD.
JACOB DANIEL BRUCE.
HENRY JOHN FREDERICK OSTERMAN.

ORDINANCE OF PETER I.

FOR THE CROWNING OF THE EMPRESS CATHERINE.

We Peter the First, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, etc., to all our officers, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, and all others of the Russian nation, our faithful subjects:

No one can be ignorant that it has been a constant and invariable custom among the monarchs of all Christian states, to cause their consorts to be crowned, and that the same is at present practised, and hath frequently been in former times by those emperors who possessed the holy faith of the Greek Church; to wit, by the emperor Basilides, who caused his wife, Zenobia, to be crowned; the emperor Justinian, his wife, Lucipina; the emperor Heraclius, his wife, Martina; the emperor Leo the philosopher, his wife, Mary; and many others, who have in like manner placed the imperial crown on the head of their consorts, and whom it would be too tedious here to enumerate.

It is also well known to everyone how much we have exposed our person, and faced the greatest dangers, for the good of our country during the twenty-one years' course of the late war, which we have, by the assistance of God, terminated in so honorable and advantageous a manner, that Russia has never beheld such a peace, nor ever acquired so great glory as in the late war. Now the empress Catherine, our dearly beloved wife, having greatly comforted and assisted us during the said war, as also in several other expeditions, wherein she vol-

untarily and cheerfully accompanied us, assisting us with her counsel and advice in every exigency, notwithstanding the weakness of her sex, particularly in the battle against the Turks on the banks of the River Pruth, wherein our army was reduced to twenty thousand men, while that of the Turks amounted to two hundred and seventy thousand, and on which desperate occasion she signalized herself in a particular manner, by a courage and presence of mind superior to her sex, which is well known to all our army, and to the whole Russian Empire: Therefore, for these reasons, and in virtue of the power which God has given us, we have resolved to honor our said consort, Catherine, with the imperial crown, as a reward for her painful services; and we propose, God willing, that this ceremony shall be performed the ensuing winter at Moscow. And we do hereby give notice of this our resolution to all our faithful subjects, in favor of whom our imperial affection is unalterable.

APPENDIX.

Containing a Summary Account of the Climate, Soil, and Produce; Population, Government, Laws, Religion, Manners, and Customs; Language, Learning, Arts, Manufactures, Commerce, etc., of Russia; with a Description of the City of St. Petersburg, the Capital of the Empire

CHAPTER I.

CLIMATE, SOIL, AND PRODUCE OF RUSSIA.

In a country of such vast extent as the Russian Empire, at one extremity of which it is noon when it is almost midnight at the other, the climate and soil cannot but differ greatly.

In the parts which lie beyond the sixtieth degree of latitude, the cold is excessively intense, the winter nine months long, the days extremely short during that season, the country full of mountains, rocks, and morasses, and very thinly inhabited. Corn never ripens in those regions, unless it be a little barley near Archangel, and above Yakutsk; nor are any garden fruits, or even trees, produced there.

From the sixtieth to the fifty-seventh degree of latitude, the air is somewhat milder and better, the country is less thinly inhabited, and yields, besides various kinds of wild fruits, horned cattle, goats, sheep, horses, plenty of fish, and some corn, and garden productions.

The countries between the fifty-seventh and fifty-fourth degrees of latitude, where the air is wholesome and less inclement, produce all sorts of fruits, plenty of corn, and abound in venison, wild fowl, cattle, and honey; and in short, the inhabitants, who are much more numerous here than farther north, want nothing but wine; for which they make up with mead and brandy.

From the fifty-fourth degree of latitude to the most southern boundaries of the empire, the climate varies from temperate to very hot; the whole extent of country is flat and even; it has few morasses; is watered by several rivers, which abound in fish; and has, moreover, plenty of game, though it is not overrun with woods. The provinces in these parts are the most densely populated of any in the Russian Empire, and naturally so fertile that very little culture would render them extremely rich and flourishing; but the natives are deterred from that, partly by the overflowings of the Volga, which lays the country for many miles on both sides of it under water in the spring; and still more by the ravages and inroads of the neighboring Tartars.

In the middle and northern parts of the Russian Empire the days are extremely short in winter, which lasts nearly three-quarters of the year, and the cold is so excessively severe, that spittle has been known to freeze before it reached the ground, and water as it dropped; birds have fallen down dead in their flight; travellers have been frozen to death upon their horses, and have come into inns, sitting

upright, with bridle and whip in their hands, as if alive; and numbers have lost their noses, ears, feet, or hands, which have absolutely dropped off through the intense rigor of the weather, though their bodies have been well covered with furs. Summer succeeds the winter very suddenly, and, in general, with as great a degree of heat as the other season had of cold; so that the Russian peasant sows his grain, sees it spring up, and reaps his crop, even though it be wheat, in less than three months. The nights are very short, and the twilight is remarkably luminous in this season.

The middle provinces of Russia produce much more wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, buckwheat, and a grain called psnytha, which tastes like rice, than is consumed in them, and they accordingly supply most of the other provinces, in exchange for their native commodities; besides which, great quantities of barley and rye have frequently been exported to Holland. Apples, pears, plums, cherries, strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, and several other kinds of fruit, with all manner of pulse, pot-herbs, asparagus, onions, garlic, roots, cucumbers, melons, etc., grow in plenty, and come to perfection in different parts of the Russian dominions, even as far north as Moscow. The south part of Kamchatka is remarkable for a plant about two feet and a half high, and of the thickness of one's finger. The inhabitants call it "ahahatka." When cleaned, peeled, and dried in the sun, it becomes as white as snow; and, when pounded small, tastes like sugar.

The cedar is indigenous to many parts of Siberia, but much smaller than on Mount Libanus and in the other parts of Southern Asia.

Olearius declares that the famous vegetable lamb, or "boranetz," as it is called in the Russian language, does really grow near Samara, between the Volga and the Don; that it is of the gourd kind, shaped exactly like a lamb, and fastened to the ground by a stalk which proceeds as it were from its navel: when it is ripe, the stalk withers, and the fruit is covered with a soft frizzling wool, not unlike that of a lamb newly weaned, or taken out of the sheep's belly.

In all probability those who have believed it have been led into a mistake by the Merluschka-Outschinka, or Astrakhan lambkins, of which there are three sorts, all of them the skins of slinks, or unborn lambs, imported into Russia, from Bokhara, Persia, and the country of the Kalmucks.

The argali, a sort of wild goat in Siberia, cannot feed on flat ground, like other goats and sheep; but only with its head erect, at the base of mountains, by reason of the size and weight of its horns. It has been remarked of the hares in Russia and Livonia, that they change their color in winter, and become white. Olearius imputes this to external cold, and says, he has known the same thing happen to hares, even in summer, when they have been kept some time in a cave. The sable hides itself, at a certain time of the winter, when it rolls itself up in a ball, and sleeps for a while so soundly as to bear pulling about without waking. These creatures live

chiefly upon mice, cedar-kernels, redberries, and fish; and it is observed that their fur is most beautiful when they are put to the greatest exercise for subsistence; and that the finest sable skins have generally the worst tails, and the worst skins, on the contrary, the finest tails. Bears and wolves are not only very numerous, but do much mischief in most parts of these countries.

Snakes are deemed sacred among the Kalmucks, who never kill any, but make them so familiar that they will creep into bed to them; nor has it ever been heard that they have done any hurt to man or beast.

In Russia, bees are not kept in hives near houses, but in the woods, upon the highest and straightest firs, the branches of which are cut off almost up to the bee's nest, near the top of the tree; and a scaffold, like the round top of a mast, is made round the tree, that neither men nor bears can easily climb up. Formerly the peasants of Dorpat made an agreement with the people of Pskoff, to have their bees in the woods, under the jurisdiction of these last, for which every peasant was to pay yearly six whites—a Livonian coin; and when these woods were destroyed, John Basilovitch still insisted on payment of the sum stipulated, as a right due to him.

There are three sorts of eagles in Siberia; the largest of which, about the size of our turkey-cock, is quite black, except the skin round the nostrils and legs, which is of a pale yellow. They live chiefly on high mountains, and in thick woods. The smallest sort, which the Tartars use, as they do falcons, for

hawking, a diversion they are extremely fond of, is the *Aquila Mœvia.* In the province of Dauria, and near the River Amur, there are great numbers of milk-white falcons, many of which are sent yearly to China. Partridges are found only in the southern parts of Siberia, about Krasnoyarsk and Abakansk; but almost all Russia abounds in ducks, and various kinds of wild fowl, as we have already observed. There is a species of owl in Siberia, as white as snow, and as large as hen-turkeys.

The beluja, of which frequent mention has been already made, is perhaps the largest eatable fish in the world. It is caught chiefly in the rivers that flow into the Caspian and Baltic Seas. Strahlenberg says he saw one of them fifty-six feet long, and nearly eighteen feet thick. The best isinglass is made of the inner skin of the gut of this fish, and caviar of its roe. The Russian sturgeon is sometimes seven feet long; its flesh is white, intermixed with yellow fat; and caviar, carluk, and weliga are made out of this fish; but they are greatly inferior to what is prepared from the beluja. Considerable quantities of pickled sturgeon are exported every year. It is confidently affirmed that not an eel is to be seen in all the numerous waters of Siberia; and the same is said of the Danube, and all the rivers that run into it: nor are there, according to Olearius, any carps in Muscovy or Livonia; though they abound in Astrakhan; where, however, they are not esteemed, their flesh being very coarse. The twisted horns of the sword-fish, such as we often see in the shops of druggists, are sometimes found near the mouth

of the river Lena, and along the coast of Kamchatka.

The iron mines of Russia, and especially those in Ugoria and Siberia, the metal of which is best and toughest, have afforded constant employment to many artificers, ever since the beginning of this century, when they were first opened, and quantities of their wrought works are exported to various parts of Europe. Strahlenberg says that twenty thousand muskets and ten thousand pairs of pistols are made annually near the city of Tula; and twelve thousand muskets and six thousand pairs of pistols, are annually made at the factories of Petrovka, Ustrovka, and Alexei in Karelia, besides anchors and other iron works, for the use of the admiralty, to which they belong; and that one cannon a day is cast at Petrovka. The iron works in Siberia are still more numerous than those in Russia.

Amethysts, and the brown-red sort of hæmatites, or bloodstone, are found in the mountains of Katharinenberg, and in places in Siberia; Siberia also affords jasper, partly of a deep, and partly of a pale green color, so hard that no steel tool will touch it; but it bears as high a polish as a looking-glass. Peter I. once thought of having some columns made of this stone.

In the kingdom of Kazan, a pure, solid sulphur is dug out of the rocks of talc or marienglas, in which it is enveloped. It is as clear as amber; and some lumps of it weigh over fifty pounds. The finest parts of it are put to physical uses, and the others serve in the composition of gunpowder.

A lake in Siberia yields, like several other lakes in the Russian Empire, great quantities of salt; one-third of which, in this, is saltpetre; but for want of wood near enough at hand, the expense of boiling and separating the saltpetre from the salt is greater than the price of that commodity will cover. Thirty thousand poods of saltpetre are delivered annually at the imperial storehouses from Astrakhan. Between Tula and Kaluga, there is an alum mine; and a lake in Siberia, though its water is clear and fresh, leaves an alum salt on its shores, especially in summer. Asphalt, a bituminous, inflammable matter, which we take to be what some Russian writers call earth-oil, is found in several parts of Siberia, and particularly near the river Irtish.

The author of the *"Verändertes Russland"* is wrong in saying that the kamina masla, or stone butter, as we should translate it, exudes from rocks in the condition in which it is sold; for it is in fact a vitriolic water, which forces its way through mountains of slate and clay, and others which contain a ferruginous sandy ore, and is boiled, or rather evaporated in an oven, in earthen pots, till its subsiding particles are brought to the consistence of a jelly, which is afterward taken out, and dried in the air. The Russians make use of this drug to dye leather black; but it is too corrosive for linen.

Some pieces of amber have been found between the rivers Khatanga and Yenisei, toward the frozen ocean; and others in the sandy desert between Mongolia and China.

Russia has its mineral waters in several places.

The emperor Peter I. in the latter part of his life, used to go every year to those called Honseoskertskie Wody, about one hundred and sixty-five versts from Olonetz, and fifty from the Petrovian factories, and thought he received benefit from them.

Manna is found upon a certain grass, and in particular places of the large deserts in the country of the Kalmucks and Bokharians, who call it sherkest, and bring great quantities of it to Tobolsk. It must be gathered before the sun shines upon it, otherwise it melts away.

CHAPTER II.

POPULATION, GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGION, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

THOUGH Russia contains as great a number of subjects as any one Christian state, it is far from being peopled in proportion to its extent.

Many, or perhaps most, of the great families now in Russia, are of foreign extraction; as the Golitzins, Apraxins, Nariskinas, etc., from Poland; the Czerkaskis from Tartary; the Miletinskis from Mingrelia and Georgia; with numbers of others; and even the czars have prided themselves on a Prussian extraction.

The Russians, in point of rank, are divided into three general classes: the nobility, called kneas; the gentry, called duornins; and the peasants.

The kneas, or dukes, were anciently heads of the

little governments into which this country was divided.

The duornins are country gentlemen, most of whom, and particularly the Sunbojarskoys, or sons of boyars, who are ranked in this class, hold their lands by knight service, to appear in war on horseback.

Such of the duornins as live on their estates, and are far from the capital, give themselves great airs; though they are, on the other hand, as humble and submissive to their chief nobility and officers: for in this country, as Lord Whitworth observes, every one has his share of slavery and worship, except the peasants, who are perfect slaves, absolutely subject to the arbitrary power of their lords, who may treat them as they please, provided they do not kill them. They are liable to be transferred, with goods and chattels, from one master to another. A couple of earthen pots, a wooden platter, a spoon, and a knife are all their household goods; their drink is water; their food oatmeal, bread, salt, mushrooms, and roots; on great days, a little fish, or milk, if it be not a fast; but flesh very rarely. Professor Busching says that the Russian peasants are so far from being dull or stupid, as many have thought them, that they are remarkably acute, and do not want for natural talent.

The government of Russia is absolute in the last degree; not restricted by any law or custom, but depending solely on the will of the sovereign, by which the lives and fortunes of all the subjects of that country are decided. However, such as are employed in

the state have their share of arbitrary power, their proceedings being without appeal, all in the czar's name, which they often abuse to satisfy their avarice, revenge, or other guilty passions. For right between private men, they have precedents and written laws, particularly a code drawn up by order of Alexis Michaelovitch, and enlarged by new edicts of the succeeding czars.* The process, especially in criminal matters, is short enough, when their justice is

*Heretofore, in disputes between private persons, where the parties were not agreed as to the matter of fact, and had no evidence on either side, the judge asked the plaintiff, whether he would take his oath, that the matter was as he alleged, or refer it to the defendant's oath. He who offered to take his oath, was, once a week, for three weeks running, brought before the judge, who, every time, represented to him the importance of an oath, and the sin he would be guilty of if he swore falsely. If, after this, he still persisted in his readiness to take his oath, though he swore nothing but the truth, the people looked upon him as an infamous person, would spit in his face, and turn him out of church, into which he was never received afterward, and much less admitted to the communion, unless it were at the point of death. Now they do not proceed with so much rigor, but only bring him who is to take his oath before a picture of one of their saints, where he is asked whether he will swear upon the salvation of his soul. If he persists, they give him a little crucifix to kiss, and afterward the picture of the saint, which is taken down from the wall for that purpose. Though the oath be indisputably true, the person who took it is not admitted to the communion for three years; and though he be not treated as an infamous person, yet those of any rank will not easily suffer him in their company. A perjured person is most severely whipped, and then banished. The Russians therefore endeavored, as much as possible, to avoid taking an oath; though upon any trivial occasion, especially in their dealings, they make no scruple of swearing at every word, and have incessantly in their mouths, their *"Po Chrestum"*—"By Christ"—making the sign of the cross at the same time. They permit strangers to take their oaths, according to the rules of their several religions.

proof against the temptation of a bribe; but that it seldom is; and their punishments are very severe, though not quite so rigorous as formerly. The battogen, katze, and knout, are now deemed infamous.*

The governors of provinces are, generally, appointed for three years, in which time, if their enormous rapine suffer them to continue so long in place, they make great fortunes; by which we may judge of their equity; especially as they had no sort of salaries allowed them, but only a present of three or four thousand roubles, according to the abilities of the people in their department, when they first entered on their government.

*They were not so formerly, according to Olearius; for not only those who had passed through the executioner's hands were admitted into the best company, but likewise the executioner himself, whose profession was accounted so honorable, that sometimes even merchants quitted theirs, to serve the magistrate at executions, and would buy that employment as a lucrative post, the profits of which arose partly from their stipend, partly from what was extorted from the criminal under pretence of gentle treatment, but most of all from a clandestine sale of brandy and spirits to the prisoners. The Russians have now learned another way of thinking from their more civilized neighbors: the executioner is looked upon as infamous, and is no longer permitted to sell his office; but it must continue in his family: on failure of which the butchers are obliged to choose one out of their body.

The ordinary punishments in Russia are slitting the nostrils, whipping, and the battogen, which is inflicted thus: He who is to receive this chastisement, is stripped to his shirt, and laid upon the ground on his belly; when two men, sitting crosswise upon him, one upon his neck, and the other upon his feet, beat him on the back with little wands or switches, during the time ordered by the judge. Slitting the nostrils used to be inflicted on those who had taken tobacco in snuff, contrary to an old idle prohibition.

Whipping, or the knout, as it is given in Russia, is one of the most barbarous punishments ever heard of. Olearius

The czars used formerly to keep up the veneration of their subjects, by appearing very rarely, except in public acts of ceremony and devotion, and then with a solemnity suitable to the occasion; while the boyars, or privy-councillors, disposed of the empire at their pleasure. In consequence of the regulations of Peter I., the affairs of the Russian Empire, in general, are now managed by the following colleges, or chanceries, as they are called:

The senate, or directing council, is now the supreme court of judicature, to which all processes are brought by appeal, in the last resort. The senate takes care of all domestic affairs, receives accounts

relates thus the manner of its being executed, in his presence, on eight men and one woman, for selling brandy and tobacco without licence. The executioner's man, after stripping them down to the waist, took them up one after another, upon his back, with their feet tied together with a cord, which passed between his legs and was held by another servant of the executioner, so fast, that they were not able to stir. The executioner stood three paces off, with a bull's pizzle, having fastened to the end of it three straps or thongs of an elk's skin, not tanned, and consequently exceedingly sharp, with which, springing forward whenever he struck, he laid on their backs with all his strength, so that the blood gushed out at every blow. The men had twenty-five lashes each, till an officer, who had in writing what number of stripes they were to receive, cried, "enough." The woman had only sixteen, but fainted away. After their backs were thus shockingly mangled, they were all tied together by the arms, two and two together, those who had sold tobacco having a little horn full of it, and those who had sold brandy, a little bottle about their necks, and whipped through the city, for about half a league, after which they were brought back to the place of their first punishment, and there dismissed. This is so cruel a punishment that many die of it. Some, after having undergone this dreadful scourging, wrapped themselves up in the skin of a sheep newly killed. But even this horrid flagellation is, according to M. de la Motraye, only what is called the

from all the colleges, excepting the holy synod, and issues orders to them all accordingly. In the reign of the empress Catherine, the privy council used to send orders to the senate; but in the reign of the empress Anna such orders were issued only by the cabinet council, which consisted of two ministers of state. The late empress entirely abolished the cabinet council, and, by an edict of Dec. 12, 1741, restored to the senate the power which it had in the time of Peter the Great.

The holy synod, or ecclesiastical council, instituted by Peter I., when he suppressed the patriarchate, regulates all affairs relating to the Church.

moderate knout. When the sentence orders it between the moderate and severe, pieces of flesh are taken off at every stroke of the executioner; and when it is ordered to be given with the utmost severity, the executioner, striking the flank, under the ribs, cuts the flesh to the very bowels.

Another kind of chastisement is sometimes given to a most unmerciful degree, on the soles of the offender's feet, with a stick about the thickness of a man's finger.

Even the Holy Inquisition cannot exceed the horrid refinements of cruelty formerly practised by these barbarians, and we fear too often used even now, to force people to confess by torture. One of the most terrible of these excruciating torments, called "the strapado," is executed thus: The malefactor, having his hands tied behind him with a rope, is hoisted up into the air by that cord, with a great beam fastened to his feet, upon which the executioner jumps up from time to time, to augment the pain, and add to the dislocation of the members, while a smoke and fire which are made under his feet burn and stifle him. Sometimes they cause the malefactor's head to be shaved, and, as he is hanging, pour cold water, drop by drop, upon his crown; which occasions such anguish as is not to be equalled even by whipping, and then clapping a red-hot iron upon the stripes, as is often done; or by tying to a spit, and roasting at a fire.

Thieves are tortured to make them accuse their accomplices, and confess their other crimes. If it be the first

The war college has the care of recruiting and drilling the whole Russian army, except the guards. Under the war college are the office of the general commissary at war, the office of ordnance, that of the under commissary at war, the military chest, the office for clothing the army, the victualling office, and the accountant's office.

The admiralty college manages all naval concerns without exception.

The college for foreign affairs pays the salaries of the Russian ministers at foreign courts, pensions, and the expenses of foreign envoys, which are always defrayed.

offence, they are whipped from the prison to the market-place, where the offender has an ear cut off, and is sent back to prison for two years. If he offends a second time he is punished as before, and kept in prison, till there be a number of them to banish into Siberia. Theft is never punished with death in Russia; but the receivers and concealers of stolen goods are punished equally with the thief. Murder, committed without any necessity of defence, is punished with death. The criminal is kept six weeks in a very close prison, upon bread and water only; after which he receives the communion, and is beheaded.

But even all these cruelties fall short of those which are inflicted on such as cannot satisfy their creditors. He who does not pay at the time agreed on, is put into the house of an officer appointed for that purpose, and has time allowed him to make satisfaction. If he fails therein, he is carried to prison, whence he is brought every day to a place before the chancery, where the common executioner beats him upon the shin bones with a wand about the size of a man's little finger, for an hour. That done, he is returned to prison, unless he can find security for his appearing again the next day at the same hour, to be treated in the same manner, till he has made satisfaction. This is executed rigorously upon all sorts of persons, of whatever condition or quality they be, subjects or foreigners, men or women, priests or laymen: and if, at last, the debtor cannot find wherewith to pay, he, his wife, and children, are sentenced to be bond-slaves to the creditor.

The college of justice at Moscow determines suits brought thither by appeal from the conquered provinces, and has likewise a consistorial jurisdiction over the Protestants and Papists in that city.

The wotshinoi college, or feudal chancery, is held at Moscow, and has the care of everything relating to the estates of private persons, and their boundaries or limits.

The college of the treasury has the direction of levying all the public revenues, except the poll-tax and the produce of the salt works.

The state office issues the public money, and gives the necessary directions to the chamber of accounts. The revenue chambers at St. Petersburg and Moscow are accordingly dependent on this office.

The revision college is a sort of check on the other colleges, and receives their accounts in order to examine them.

The colleges for trade, mines, and manufactures, are distinct offices; and besides the departments from which they take their names, they have also the management of the naval customs or tolls, and decide all commercial disputes between merchants and traders.

The confiscation chancery directs the sale of all forfeited estates, and the levying of all fines imposed by the other colleges.

The salt office has the direction of the revenues arising from the salt works, which are appropriated for the sovereign's privy purse.

Besides these, there is a college of the magistracy, as it is called, to which all the magistrates in the em-

pire are accountable for their conduct; and a privy chancery, which takes cognizance of all hospitals, dispensaries, medicines, etc.

They hold three sacraments, baptism, the Lord's supper, and extreme unction; which last they look upon as extremely conducive, but not absolutely necessary to salvation. They likewise hold transubstantiation, and receive the eucharist* in both ways

*The consecrated bread is put into the wine, and a little of both is taken out of the chalice with a spoon, and given to the communicants. The wine is red, and mixed with warm water, the better to imitate the blood and water which issued from our Saviour's side. The communion bread, or wafer, as Romanists call it, is about twice as big as a crown-piece, and somewhat thicker; but the priest breaks it into as many pieces as there are communicants. It must be leavened, and have been kneaded and baked by the widow of a priest. This they think so essential to the sacrament that one of the principal causes of the schism between the Greek and Latin Churches is that the latter makes use of unleavened bread, contrary to the express institution of Christ, who, to abolish the ceremony of the Jews, who made use of unleavened bread, was pleased to take common bread. In the middle of this wafer is the figure of a crucifix, which the priest, after he has consecrated it, takes off with an instrument like a lancet, and puts into a pyx, or wooden box, suspended over the altar. When the communion is to be administered to a sick person, a little of this consecrated bread is taken out of the pyx, mixed with three drops of wine and a drop or two of water, and given in a spoon: but if, through weakness, or otherwise, he be not able to swallow the bread, only a little consecrated wine is given. At the administering of the sacrament, the priest says, "This is the true body and the true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which He hath given for thee, and for many more, for the remission of thy sins; which thou shalt take in remembrance of Him. God bless thee." The more devout sort sleep after they have received the communion, that they may not sin that day. What remains of the bread after consecration, serves for holy bread, which they call *"kutja"*; and on the Sunday following the priest gives a morsel of it to each of those who had communed the week before. Formerly the consecrated bread used not only to be sent into the country, to places

and observe four Lents. They use auricular confession, and think they are cleansed by it from as many sins as they confess by name, and in particular to the priest.* The Athanasian creed is their rule of faith. They believe in God the Father, as creator of all the world; in God the Son, as sanctifier and redeemer of all mankind; and in the Holy Ghost, as sanctifier of all the faithful: but they maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only. They hold tradition to be of equal authority with the

where there was no priest, but also to be given to travellers, or persons going to the wars, who made their confession before they set out, and were to commune themselves if they were in any danger of death. The custom of receiving the consecrated wine in the church, and carrying away the bread, to be taken at home; as also that of the anchorets, who carried away both to the places of their retirements, is so ancient, that St. Cyprian, and even Tertullian, speak of it as a thing commonly done in their times. But this kind of communing is now absolutely abolished in Russia, as well as elsewhere. There is scarcely a Russian but communes at Easter, after an extraordinary mortification for eight days; during which they eat nothing but a hard kind of bread, and drink only water or quass, which is so sour that it sometimes brings them almost to death's door. They generally receive the communion on Easter eve, and hold that it must at least be upon a fasting day; a circumstance which they observe so strictly that if any one communes on Sunday, he is not to eat any flesh that day. They give the communion to infants, when sick, be they ever so young, but only in one way, till they are seven years of age; after which age they commune like grown persons, because, says the Greek Church, one begins to sin mortally at about that age. Agreeable to this was the practice of the third century, when, as we learn from St. Cyprian, children were communicated immediately after baptism; a custom which continued till St. Augustine's time. The Russians also give the communion to distracted persons; but they only touch their lips with the bread, after it has lain a while in the wine.

*Those who are come to years of discretion are obliged to go to confession before they commune. They make their confession standing, in the middle of the church, and

written word of God; and think to satisfy the second commandment by allowing no carved images; but their churches are filled with miserable paintings, without shade or perspective; and even some of those daubings, as well as the finer strokes of the Italian pencils, are said to be the work of angels; particularly a celebrated piece of the Virgin Mary with three hands, which is preserved in the monastery of Jerusalem, about thirty miles from Moscow.*

before the picture of some saint, on which they keep their eyes fixed, as long as the confession lasts, making a very particular recital of all their sins, and at every sin expressing their remorse, and promising amendment. The priest, with the absolution, enjoins on them a penance, which generally consists in repeating several times the words "*Ghospodi Pomilui*," or in making a number of reverences before the pictures of saints, abstaining from women for a certain time, standing at the church door; or, if the sins be very heinous, he orders them to use a holy water, which is consecrated on Twelfth-day, and kept by the priests all the year long for this purpose, and not to be had of them for nothing. They think that water has virtue to purify them of their sins, and restore them to a state of grace.

*The Russians relate very gravely, and deem those atheists who doubt the truth of their account, that the painter who drew this picture of the Virgin Mary, with our Saviour in her arms, having sketched it so as to make both her hands appear, was surprised to find, when he went next to look at it, three hands regularly disposed about the child: upon which, thinking that some other person of the trade had slipped privately into his room, and done this to put a trick upon him, he took his pencil, and in a kind of passion rubbed out the third hand, finished the picture, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket. The next morning he found a third hand painted again as before. Astonished and amazed, he crossed and blessed himself: but still concluding, upon reflection, that some wag had found means to get into his apartment, he again effaced the supernumerary hand, and then locked and sealed his doors, and secured his windows, with the utmost care. The next morning, he found the third hand painted a third time, and was going to alter it again, when the Virgin Mary appeared in person, and bade him forbear; for that it was her pleasure to be so drawn.

The respect paid to these pictures is the grossest kind of idolatry. That the gospel was first preached to the Russians by St. Andrew, as some of their chronicles pretend, is, at best, a very improbable story. But, as it is not our business here to write an ecclesiastical history, we shall content ourselves with noticing such particular religious ceremonies and customs of the people, as may help to throw light upon their character and manners.

Their private devotion consists in fasting and prayer; in the former of which they greatly exceed the Papists. Wednesdays and Fridays are stated fasts all the year round. In Lent they eat neither flesh, milk, eggs, nor butter; but confine themselves wholly to vegetables, bread, and fish fried in oil.

The eighth week before Easter, which is called the butter-week, may be looked upon as the Russian carnival, and is spent in all kinds of entertainments and licentiousness. Among the diversions exhibited during this time, one of the most singular is that of riding in sledges down a steep declivity of twenty ells in height, which is made with boards, and covered with ice, by throwing water on it to freeze.

In their private devotions they kneel before a picture, for they will by no means allow of images of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, St. Nicholas, who is their great patron, or some other saint, to which they bow several times, making the sign of the cross with their thumb and forefinger, and third finger, on the breast, forehead, and shoulders, at the same time repeating in a low voice, the Lord's prayer, and some other short ejaculations, particularly the

words, *"Ghospodi Pomilui"*—"Lord be merciful unto me."

Their church service, which is recited in the Slavonian tongue, unintelligible at least to the common people, consists in abundance of trifling ceremonies, long masses, singing, and prayers; all which are performed by the priests, the congregation in the meantime saying *"Ghospodi Pomilui."* A lecture from one of the ancient fathers is sometimes added. Sermons are preached in but few churches; and even there but seldom.

The Russians, like other people, have had their sectaries ever since the institution of Christianity among them; for sects are often the fruit of ignorance, as well as of pretended knowledge. But Russia is the only great Christian state in which religion has not occasioned civil wars; though it has, indeed, produced some tumults there.

The inhabitants of the provinces conquered from Sweden profess Lutheranism; and the Protestants, of whom there are great numbers among the Russians, as also the Papists, enjoy full liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their religion; so that they have churches and priests or ministers at St. Petersburg, Kronstadt, Moscow, Archangel, and Astrakhan; but the Papists have no longer the privilege of hanging bells in their churches.

Quite a number of Russian subjects profess the Mahometan religion; and still greater numbers are yet pagans. In order to promote their conversion, the synod has instituted a society for the propagation of Christian knowledge; and some accounts say that

many thousands of them have been converted to Christianity.

Under the present government, the holy synod is held in great veneration. All the ecclesiastics are permitted to wear their beards and their own lank hair. Their dress is a sort of long cloak; and on their heads they wear high stiffened black caps, from which a piece of the same stuff hangs down on the back, and a large flapped hat. Secular priests, when they are out of the church, generally wear a blue or brown long coat. The protopopes, or parish priests, or chaplains, are of the meanest people, "husbands of one wife," in a literal explication of the Scripture; being obliged to marry, but to a maiden only; and when she died, the priest was formerly excluded from all further service, and obliged to turn monk, or be degraded, and take up some sorry trade for a livelihood; in which case he was allowed to marry again; but, in consequence of the regulations of Peter I. they are now permitted to be continued in the under offices of the Church.

In the thirteenth century several popes labored hard to set the great dukes of Russia against the Greek religion, by recommending to them that of Rome, but without success. The doctors of the Sorbonne at Paris made the same attempt of late years; endeavoring, at the suppression of the patriarchate by Peter I. to bring about a union of the Russian Church with that of Rome; but they were not able to carry their point.

Idleness, ignorance, indigence, age, infirmities, domestic discontent, violence, and sometimes the

overflowings of a misguided devotion, fill the numerous convents of Russia, as they do those of other countries; notwithstanding the care of Peter I. to stop this evil, by wisely ordering that no man should be permitted to embrace the monastic life before the age of thirty, or any woman to take the veil under fifty.

The abbot, or head of a monastery, is called "Archimandrite," and the prior of a convent, "Ingumen." An abbess, or head of a nunnery, is styled "Ingumenia." Deacons, popes, or papas as they are sometimes called, and protopopes, who are priests that belong to the cathedral and principal churches, are exceedingly numerous in Russia. Every large village has a church, and a priest to officiate in it; and in the towns, almost every street has its church or chapel, and frequently both.

The Russians baptize their children as soon as they are born. If the child be very weak, or in danger of death, this ceremony is performed immediately, at home, though never in the room where the mother lies in: but if well, it is carried to church by the godfather and godmother. The priest receives the infant at the church door, and there exorcises it, by laying his hands upon it, saying, "Get out of this child, thou unclean spirit, and make way for the Holy Ghost"; and by blowing three times, crosswise upon the child, to drive away the devil, by whom the Russians believe children are really possessed before baptism, and who, they think, would profane the church, were he to be ejected in it.

The ceremony is concluded with a small cross of

gold, silver, or lead, according to the abilities of the parents, which the priest hangs about the child's neck, with so strict an injunction to wear it all his life, that if it be not found about him at his death, the Russians would not bury the body, but drag it to a dunghill.

If more than one child is to be baptized at the same time, the font is emptied after each christening, and the new water is consecrated; the former being defiled, they say, with the impurity of the original sin of the child that was baptized before, and therefore not fit to cleanse a second.

They will not, by any means, heat the water intended for christening, with fire; but, when it is very cold, they put it into a warm place till the chill is taken off. Adults, who are baptized, whether Pagans, Mahometans, or Christians of another communion, who embrace the religion of the Greek Church, receive their baptism in a brook or river, where they are plunged over head and ears; sometimes the ice is broken to get them into water. The latter of these converts, in particular, are obliged to go for six weeks into a monastery, where the monks instruct them in the Russian manner of honoring the saints, of doing reverence to their pictures, and of making the sign of the cross. They are afterward brought to the place of baptism, where they are obliged to abjure their former religion, to detest it as heretical, and to spit as often as it is named.

Till the time of Peter I., who rectified many strange customs and abuses among the Russians, the young men and maids of that nation were not

permitted to see, or have any discourse with each other before marriage; and much less to make one another any promise to that effect, by word or writing. When those who had children marriageable, especially daughters, had found out a match they liked, they used to speak to the young man's parents, and declare their desire of making an alliance with them. If the girl was handsome, or rather if she was not deformed, the mother of the intended husband, or some other woman related to him, was allowed to visit her, and the friends on both sides afterward settled the match.

This way of marrying, without the man's ever seeing the person he is contracted to till it is too late to recede, may do in Turkey or Persia, where polygamy is established, and the women are locked up; but it is bad for countries where only one wife is allowed, and where divorces are rare. The remedy of this abuse was therefore a care well worthy of Peter the Great.

Olearius gives the following account of the ceremonies used by the Russians, in his time, at their funerals. As soon as a person expired, notice was sent to his relatives and friends, who thereupon repaired to his house, stood round his corpse, excited one another to bemoan him, as if they intended purposely to heighten the lamentations of the women.

The coffin was covered with a cloth, or sometimes with a coat which the defunct had worn, and carried to church; preceded by a priest, bearing a picture of the saint assigned to the deceased for his patron, at his baptism, and by the four nearest unmarried fe-

male relatives, as chief mourners, who filled the air with howling cries, measured in such exact time, that they all ceased, and all began again together. Other priests walked round the coffin during this procession, and incensed it all the way. If the deceased was a rich man, and the season of the year permitted it, he was kept above ground eight or ten days, during which the priest incensed the corpse, and sprinkled it with holy water every day. When the ground was frozen so hard that a spade could not enter it, the bodies of the poorer sort were laid up in dead-houses, which they call "God's houses," till graves could be dug for them. At the grave, the coffin was opened, and a picture of the deceased's saint held over him, while the priest recited the funeral service; after which the kindred and friends took leave of the dead person, by kissing either him or the coffin; and then the priest put between his fingers a piece of paper, signed by the bishop or other principal ecclesiastic of the place, and the confessor, certifying that the deceased died in the true faith, and recommending him to suitable treatment in the other world.*

The Russians had a tradition, which was generally received, that whoever was buried in the monastery of Petersky at Kieff, would be saved, even

*The form of this passport runs thus: "We whose names are hereunto subscribed, the patriarch, or metropolitan, and priest of the city of N, do make known and certify, by these presents, that the bearer of these our letters, hath always lived among us like a good Christian, professing the Greek religion; and though he hath committed some sins, yet that he hath confessed the same, and thereupon received absolution, and taken the communion for

though he died without repenting of his sins. But Peter I. took care to abolish, as far as he could, these and many other superstitious abuses, when he settled the national synod.

Before the time of Peter I. the Russians were, not undeservedly, looked upon as mere savages. But that wise and great emperor, by incredible application, and a proper temperament of severity and mildness, brought about by degrees such an alteration in their manners as set them upon a kind of level with some of the civilized nations of Europe, at least while he lived; for they seem now to be retrograding apace. The work which he began would have required a succession of princes, animated with the same spirit. The Russians are ingenious, implicitly obedient to the will of their superiors, and especially of late, good soldiers, when properly commanded: but they are distrustful, immodest, quarrelsome, insolent in prosperity, abject in adversity, and excessively deceitful in their traffic. Persons of distinction among them are very fond of state and splendor.

The insatiable eagerness of their common people after spirituous liquors, especially in the carnival time, may in some measure be imputed to their rigorous fasts, and the slender diet they live upon

the remission of his offences: that he hath honored God and His saints; that he hath said his prayers; that he hath fasted on the hours and days appointed by the church; and that he hath demeaned himself so well toward me, who am his confessor, that I have no reason to complain of him, nor to deny him the absolution of his sins. In witness whereof we have given him the present testimonial, to the end that, upon sight thereof, St. Peter may open unto him the gate of eternal bliss."

throughout the year. Their usual drink is quass, which is a kind of small beer, and brago, brewed of oatmeal and hops: that of their gentry is mead, and, of late, wine; though even with them brandy always makes a part of every repast. Among the lower sort, in particular, the men give themselves up most to excessive drinking, which they do to such a degree as to pawn every rag upon their backs at ale houses, and go home stark naked.

The ancient dress of the Russians, consisting of a long robe lined with fur, a vest enriched with jewels on days of ceremony, and a high turban of fine sable or other skins, was perhaps more noble, and certainly better suited to their climate, though it might be less convenient for war, or any active employment, than a short coat and waistcoat, like ours, which the czar Peter obliged them to wear, at the same time that he made them cut off their beards; of which, and of portly figures, they were great admirers.

The women of fashion in this country live extremely retired, seldom going out of their houses, and receiving the visits of their friends and relatives much oftener than they return them. Their dress within doors is generally made of some common stuff of little value: but when they go to church, or their husbands would honor a friend with their presence, they are clad magnificently.

CHAPTER III.

LANGUAGE, LEARNING, ARTS, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE OF RUSSIA.

The Russian language, which is remarkably soft, derives its origin from the Slavonian, though it differs greatly from it at present, and with regard to religious subjects, is intermixed with numbers of Greek words. The alphabet consists of forty-two letters, most of which are Greek characters, as they were written in the ninth century, when the knowledge of letters was introduced into Russia. But as those letters did not express every particular sound in the Slavonian tongue, recourse was had to several Hebrew letters, and some arbitrary signs. The Muscovite, Novgorodian, and Ukrainian dialects are the most used in Russia, together with that of Archangel, which greatly resembles the Siberian.

The several branches of learning were but little known in Russia, before the reign of Peter the Great, who, sparing neither pains nor expense to dispel the clouds of ignorance in which his subjects were involved, and to inspire them with a taste for arts and sciences, founded an academy at St. Petersburg, besides other schools in the different parts of his empire. However, the number of Russian literati is as yet but small: and as there are only three universities in that vast empire, which are those of St. Petersburg, Kieff, and Moscow, learning may still be said to be only in its infancy in Russia.

The members of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, not only publish collections of their own

memoirs, but compose books for the instruction of youth in the sciences, besides having translated several useful works published in foreign countries.

Formerly the Russians, like all other people in their first state, were wholly employed in agriculture, feeding of cattle, hunting, and fishing. However, numbers of excellent artificers having been invited to St. Petersburg by Peter the Great, the Russians showed, that, with proper instructions, they did not want a capacity for all kinds of handicraft; for they have now flourishing manufactures of velvet, silk, woollen stuffs, linen, copper, brass, iron, steel, and tin; and make great guns, firearms, wire, cordage, sail cloth, paper, parchment, glass, gunpowder, etc.

Peter the Great first established the art of printing in Russia. His types and other implements were brought from Holland. A press, with letters, had been sent from Poland to Moscow, and a printing house erected, by the approbation of one of the czars; but the building was set on fire in the night, and burned to the ground, at the instigation, as was generally supposed, of the priests, who looked upon all books, and especially such as treated of their own history and the miracles of their saints, to be as dangerous as witchcraft.

Russia affords a variety of commodities which are of great use to foreigners. As the exports of this country far exceed its imports, the balance of trade is considerably in its favor.*

*In order to give the reader some idea of the yearly exports of Russia we shall transcribe the particulars collected by Dr. Busching from authentic accounts, according

To enter more particularly into the commerce of Russia, would exceed the limits of this volume. I shall therefore refer those readers who are desirous of a more particular account thereof to the account given by Lord Whitworth.

Money was formerly so very scarce in this country that foreigners were obliged, when they bartered their goods for those of Russia, to give specie with them to the Russians, who had no idea of any com-

to which the following quantities of the commodities here mentioned are annually exported from St. Petersburg, viz.:

Gallimanco, 1,214,000 arshines; linen, 4,000,000 arshines; table linen, 600,000 arshines; beeswax, 22,000 poods; Isinglass, 1,500 poods; flax, 65,000 poods; hemp, 1,000,000 poods; tallow, 100,000 poods; Russia leather, 200,000 poods; pressed caviar, 20,000 poods; hogs' bristles, 6,500 poods; hare skins, 400,000 poods; pieces of fur, etc., 70,000 poods.

The red and black juchten, or Russia leather, cannot be equalled in any other part of the world for color, smell, and softness. The best sort is dressed at Yarostaf, Rostof, and Pleskoff. One may judge of the genuineness of Russia leather, not only by the color and softness, but also by its fuming and smelling like burned leather, when rubbed hard. The word yucht, or juchte, signifies a pair; two skins being always put together.

The quantity of bar and other unwrought iron annually exported from Russia amounts to 300,000 poods annually; and the Russian iron is little, if at all, inferior to that of Sweden.

Caviar, or Caweer, is made of the roes of the fish called beluga, and the sturgeon. The best is made of the beluga roes, and is of two sorts; namely, the granulated, and the pressed. The former, which is most valued, is prepared in autumn and winter, but the latter is made in summer: and both sorts are exported to the southern parts of Europe. The granulated sort is first salted, and then put into kegs for exportation. Caviar is most palatable when fresh, and spread on bread, with salt, leek, and pepper: but as it soon becomes tainted by warmth, it cannot well be exported fresh. The Russians call it *"Ikra."*

No greater quantity of rhubarb is exported from Russia, than what is allowed by the empress, who also fixes the price of it.

mercial course of exchange till 1670. Most of the foreign merchants resided at Moscow, and went in the summer to Archangel, where they had their warehouses and factors. The practice continued till 1721, when the seat of commerce was transferred from Archangel to St. Petersburg, by order of Peter the Great, and the foreign traders were, in consequence, obliged to remove their factories. At the same time, among other regulations, a tariff was settled: but this was abolished in 1733, and the old Russian rouble was restored, by which the customs and duties are computed to this day. That rouble, before the present century, was only an imaginary piece, containing a hundred silver copecks of those times, the only real current coin formerly known in Russia, which, however, were as large and heavy as those coined since.*

The first real roubles, half roubles, etc., were coined in 1703. Their standard should be the same as Lyon dollars, viz., twelve ounces fine silver, and twelve ounces alloy to the pound weight; but most of the bullion that is carried into the mint is not above ten ounces fine silver; and being seldom tried when melted, the Russian coins are of different intrinsic value, as the run happens to be good or bad.

The merchants and traders at St. Petersburg con-

*Three copecks make an altine; ten copecks a grieven; twenty-five copecks a popoltine; fifty copecks a poltine; one hundred copecks a rouble. The copeck is divided into denushkas and polushkas. The denushka, which Consett takes to have been the first coin of the country, because the Russian word for money in general is "denga," whence, according to him, the diminutive denushka is half a copeck, and the polushka is half the denushka.

sist of natives and foreigners. The former may sell by wholesale only, and that to none but the natives: for foreigners are not permitted to have any commercial dealings with one another in Russia, nor are they allowed to keep the goods consigned to them in their own warehouses; but are obliged to deposit them in magazines, built by the government for that purpose, and to pay rent for warehouse room in proportion to the quantity of goods they are possessed of.

Most of the foreign traders at St. Petersburg are only factors; the rest, who trade on their own bottoms, deal chiefly in toys and groceries. The factors are intrusted with very large capitals, and may get handsome fortunes without engaging in any commerce for themselves.

All foreign merchandise is generally sold at a year's credit: but the Russian commodities must be paid for on delivery, unless the owners of them find a difficulty in selling their stock; in which case they deal by way of exchange; though even then they will not barter goods for goods, but commonly insist on a fourth, a third, or half of the value of the whole in specie.

The English enjoyed considerable privileges in their trade to Russia, as early as 1553, when the czar Ivan Basilovitch was on the throne, as we observed before. These privileges were renewed by Peter I., who gave them great encouragement, but permitted them to send their goods only to Moscow. In 1752, a treaty of commerce was concluded between Russia and England, by which it was stipulated that the

English should be allowed to send goods through Russia into Persia: but Captain Elton, a Scotchman, having entered into the service of Shah Nadir in 1746, and built ships for him on the Caspian Sea, the Russians put a stop to this trade to Persia. However, the English still have a greater trade with Russia than any other nation.

Such foreigners as settle at St. Petersburg, without actual commissions, and a sufficient credit in exchange, run a great risk of becoming bankrupts; of this there have been many instances. There is not a nation in the world more inclined to commerce than the Russians; but they are so full of chicanery and finesse that a stranger cannot be too cautious in his dealings with them.

As we gave in our last note some account of the money of the Russians, our commercial readers, in particular, if any such we have, will perhaps not be displeased at our subjoining here in another, their weights and measures.*

*The weights peculiar to Russia are:

A solo, which is the sixth part of an ounce, and is divided into halves, quarters, and eighths; a pound, which is equal to ninety-six solos; a pood, which is forty of their pounds, and thirty-six of ours; a berkowitz, which is equal to ten poods.

The Russian measures of length are:

The arshin, which is equal to twenty-eight inches and one-tenth, English measure; the verschock, which is a tenth of the arshin; and the saschen, or fathom, which contains three arshins.

Among the measures of capacity are:

The galenok or kronchka, a measure for liquids, eight of which are equal to a vedro; which last contains about twenty gallons English, and answers to the German eymer; the chetverick, a dry measure, reckoned equal to three hundred and twenty Russian pounds.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CORONATION, TITLES, COURT, REVENUES, EXPENSES, FORCES, ETC., OF THE CZAR.

AT THE accession of a new czar, all the metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, nobility, and principal merchants throughout the whole empire, are summoned to Moscow for the day of the coronation; when the officiating prelate—formerly the patriarch, but now the archbishop of Moscow—conducts the new great duke to the church of Precheste, or Our Lady, within the Kremlin, where a scaffold is erected three steps high, and covered with rich Persian tapestry, on which are set three chairs, at equal distances one from the other. One of these is for the great duke, another for the archbishop, and the third for the ducal cap and robe. The robe is of purple satin, lined with sable; and on the top of the cap, which is embroidered with jewels, is a little crown, set as thick as possible with diamonds, and said to be the one which the great duke Demetrius Monomach took at Caffa in Tartary, and immediately destined for the coronation of his successors.

As soon as the czar enters the church, the clergy begin their hymns, after which the archbishop prays to God, to St. Nicholas, the great patron of the Russians, and to the other saints, desiring their presence at that day's solemnity. The prayer being ended, the chief counsellor of state takes the great duke by the hand, presents him to the archbishop, and says to him: "The knez and boyars acknowl-

edge the prince here present, to be lawful heir to the crown; and desire that, as such, you immediately crown him." Upon this the archbishop leads the prince up to the scaffold, seats him on one of the three chairs, touches his forehead with a little cross of diamonds, and blesses him. Then one of the metropolitans reads the following prayer: "O Lord our God, King of kings, who didst choose thy servant David, by thy prophet Samuel, and didst cause him to be anointed king over thy people Israel, hearken to our prayers, which, though unworthy, we offer up unto thee. Look down from thy sanctuary upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king over these thy holy nations: Anoint him with the oil of gladness; protect him by thy power; set upon his head a precious diadem; grant him a long and happy life; put into his hand a royal sceptre, and make him sit upon the throne of justice; make subject to him all barbarous nations; let his heart and understanding always continue in thy fear. In all the course of his life, let him be constantly obedient to thy commandments; suffer not any heresy or schism to come near his person or government; but show him the salvation of thy holy and universal Church; that he may judge thy people with justice; protect the children of the poor, and finally attain everlasting life: for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory. God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, be with us, and remain with us."

After this prayer, the archbishop orders two metropolitans to take the cap and robe; and some of

the boyars, whom he directs to come upon the scaffold, to put them on the great duke, whom he blesses a second time, by touching his forehead with the little cross of diamonds. The ducal cap is then delivered to them, and they set it upon the prince's head, while the archbishop says: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," and blesses him the third time. That done, the archbishop bids all the prelates approach, and each of them gives the great duke his benediction; but only with the two forefingers. The great duke and the archbishop then sit down; but rise again immediately, to order the singing of the litany, every verse of which ends with "*Ghospodi pomilui*"—"Lord have mercy upon us"—and is frequently intermixed with the great duke's name. After the litany, they sit down again, and one of the metropolitans goes up to the altar, and says, singing: "God preserve in health our czar and great duke of all the Russias, whom He hath of His love bestowed upon us, and grant him a long and happy life." The words are echoed round for some time, by every one present; after which the archbishop alone goes up to the prince, and says that since, through the providence of God, all the estates of the realm, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, have established and crowned him great duke over all the Russias, and entrusted him with a government of so great importance, he ought to apply all his thoughts to love God, keep His commandments, administer justice, and protect and maintain the true Greek religion. He then bows himself down to the ground, before the czar, even touching it with his forehead,

as a token of his homage, and all the rest, ecclesiastics, nobles, and others, in their respective ranks, do the same. They then go to the church of St. Michael the Archangel, and afterward to that of St. Nicholas, both within the walls of the palace, as well as that of Precheste, and, after singing in each of them the same litanies as before, conclude the ceremonies with dining in the great hall of the Kremlin.

The title of the Russian sovereign, at full length, runs now as follows:

"N. N. Emperor and sole sovereign of all the Russias, sovereign lord of Moscow, Kieff, Vlodimir, Novgorod; czar in Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberia; lord of Pskoff; great duke of Smolensk; duke of Esthonia, Livonia, and Karelia; of Tver, Ingria, Pernia, Vyatka, Bulgaria, and lord of several other territories; great duke of Novgorod in the low country of Tchernigof, Resan, Rosto, Yaroslaf, Bielzersk, Uldoria, Obdorsk, Condino; emperor of all the northern parts; lord of the territory of Iweria; of the Carthalinian, Greuzinian, and Georgian czars; of the Kabardinian, Circassian and Gorian princes; and lord and supreme ruler of many other countries and territories."

The Russian court has always been very crowded and magnificent, being filled, particularly on solemn occasions, by the boyars, or privy councillors, with all the officers of each pricase; by the nobles and gentry, who are obliged to constant attendance, by titles of honor and distinction, without any salary. But the czar Peter I. abolished these formalities, without settling any other court; some said, to save

EMPRESS CATHERINE

the expense during the wars he was engaged in; others from his particular temper, which was averse to such constraints. On any ceremony, he was attended by the chief officers of his army, and only some of his nobility. However, the former pomp has since been restored, and heightened by the addition of three orders of knighthood, created by the prince we have been speaking of.

The first, and most honorable, is that of St. Andrew, or the blue ribbon, instituted by Peter the Great in 1698, in honor of St. Andrew, the patron of Russia. The empress Catherine gave the statutes, and assigned proper habits for this order, which has its insignia, motto, and collar.

The second is the order of St. Alexander Newski, or the red ribbon, which was indeed instituted by Peter I., but the czarina Catherine first conferred it in 1725. This order has also its badge and motto.

The third is a female order, which Peter the Great founded in 1714, in honor of his consort, Catherine; and from her name he called it the order of St. Catherine.

These honors command respect, cost the sovereign nothing, and flatter those who receive them, without adding to their power.

A hundred and fifty tables are now spread twice a day at the Russian court, and served with eighteen hundred dishes. The court purveyor receives for this purpose, two thousand roubles every three days, exclusive of the produce of the crown estates, and the proper quantities of wine, sugar, and spices. The daily consumption of coffee is a pood, or thirty-

six pounds of our weight; and seven thousand poods of salt are consumed there every month.

The revenues of the Russian Empire are variously computed. The author of the *"Anmerkungen über die Moscovitischen Briefe,"* or "Observations on the Muscovite Letters," pretends that they amount to sixty millions of roubles; but this is certainly exaggerated. Some compute them at twenty millions, which is still beyond the mark; and others* reckon them to be eight millions, which is too little.† According to a statement of the Russian finances in 1725, they amounted to thirteen millions of roubles.

M. Busching agrees with him as to this augmentation, which he estimates at nearly a fifth, in consequence of an imperial ukase, or edict, issued in 1752 by the late Empress Elizabeth; but at the same time he assures us, from an authentic account of the empress' whole revenues, lying before him at the time of his writing, that they amount to only about ten millions of roubles. Whichever of these authors is right, it is very certain that the imperial revenues are not proportionate to the vast extent of the Russian dominions; that they do not all consist of ready money, the country in many places furnishing recruits for the army in lieu of it, and most of the inhabitants of Siberia paying their tribute in furs;

*Among which number are the author of *"Das Veränderte Russland,"* and the writer of the remarks upon *"L'histoire généalogique des Tartares."* Strahlenberg says they amounted to five millions of roubles in the time of the czar Alexis.

†Lord Whitworth reckoned them at only about seven millions of roubles in 1710.

and that they are sufficient to answer the exigencies of the state.

By the indefatigable care of Peter the Great, the military establishment of Russia has been entirely remodelled. The Russians at present are good soldiers, especially if they be well disciplined: but the infantry far surpasses the cavalry. Both are now on the German footing.

According to the state of the Russian forces drawn up by M. Van Hoven in 1746, the army then consisted of 246,494 regulars, and 120,000 irregulars. The fleet was composed of 24 ships of the line, 7 frigates, 3 bombketches, and 2 praams or flatboats; besides the galley fleet at St. Petersburg, consisting of 102 galleys. The complement of the whole fleet amounted to 10,570 men, of whom 7,701 were sailors.

The men-of-war are laid up at Revel and Kronstadt, and the galleys at St. Petersburg. The Russians cannot as yet be said to have a very good harbor in the Baltic, the water at Kronstadt being too fresh, which does considerable damage to the ships that lie there; the mouth of the harbor being also too narrow, and surrounded with rocks and dangerous sands; and the ice remaining there too long, the sea being seldom clear of it before the end of May. Some sea officers and ship carpenters have of late been sent to the eastern parts of Siberia, toward Japan, to look out for good havens, and convenient places to build ships: but we have not yet heard of any progress they have made.

CHAPTER V.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF ST. PETERSBURG—ITS SITUATION, EXTENT, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, ETC.

St. Petersburg, situated in fifty-nine degrees, fifty-seven minutes north latitude, is one of the capitals of the Russian Empire, and an imperial residence. It lies partly on the continent in Ingria and Finland, among thick woods, and partly on several islands, formed by the channel of the Neva, which divides itself into two main branches, called the Great and Little Neva, and many smaller streams, and by the rivers Fontanka and Moika, besides several canals. The low and swampy soil in which it stands has been built up with trunks of trees, earth, and stone; its situation is nevertheless pleasant, and the air wholesome. The city of St. Petersburg is about six English miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth, and has neither wall nor gates. The number of its houses is computed at eight thousand, about six hundred of which are of stone; but the rest are built with timber, and, for the most part, in an irregular manner, after the Russian taste.

The soil about St. Petersburg is not very fertile, so that provisions are brought to that city from a great distance, and must be paid for in ready money; which was no small inconvenience to the nobility, who were accustomed to subsist chiefly on the produce of their estates, and seldom possessed money.

The river Neva is about eight hundred paces broad near St. Petersburg, but not everywhere pro-

portionably deep; so that large ships are cleared at Kronstadt; but the men-of-war built at St. Petersburg are conveyed to Kronstadt by means of certain machines called camels. There is but one bridge over the Neva, which is built with large flat-bottomed boats, and joins the dockyard to Basil's Island.

Petersburg Island, called, by way of distinction, the island of Old Petersburg, is formed by the Great and Little Neva, and the Newka, and is over two leagues in circuit. It is well peopled, but most of the houses upon it are very indifferent. Here is still to be seen the little wooden house built by order of Peter the Great, for his residence at the time that he arrived upon the spot where the city now stands; and, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of this remarkable circumstance, it is inclosed within a stone wall, and has been covered with a new roof.

Petersburg Island is separated by the Carvowka from another, called the Apothecaries Island, which is about five or six miles in circumference, and contains about two hundred houses, besides the large botanic garden, where all kinds of European and Asiatic plants, roots, and trees are cultivated in greenhouses and other proper places. The other part of this island consists of a pleasant wood.

From this island of Old Petersburg you cross the Little Neva to that of Wasili-Ostrow, or Basil's Island, which is the largest of all these islands. It is surrounded by the Great and Little Neva, and lies toward Kronstadt. Several large canals are cut

through this island, particularly at the places where the buildings stand; but most of them being now gone to decay, those parts are little better than morasses. Adjoining the hemp warehouse, and opposite to Petersburg Island, are the exchange, the customhouse, the packhouse, and the merchants' key. Contiguous to these are several large stone buildings, belonging to the Imperial Academy of Sciences, which Peter I. founded in 1724, and endowed with an annual revenue of 24,912 roubles. That monarch also designed to erect an academy of the polite arts; but as an estimate of the expenses attending such an institution has not yet been made, the late empress Elizabeth, in the meantime, augmented the former endowment to 53,298 roubles.

The academy is divided into two classes, viz., the academy properly so called, and the university. The members of the former are employed solely in finding out new inventions, or in improving the discoveries of others. They are properly styled academicians; but are commonly called professors. Every academician has an adjunct or assistant, who is under his care, and succeeds him in his place. The academy is governed by a president, but in such manner that everything is transacted under the auspices and direction of her imperial majesty.

The university has its particular professors, who read lectures in the sciences, both in the Russian and Latin languages. No person is disqualified from being a professor on account of his religion; but he must not inculcate in his pupils anything contrary

to the doctrine of the Greek Church. In 1750 the number of students amounted to thirty, who were sent from different convents, and lived in one house, under the inspection of a professor.

The gymnasium and seminarium belong also to the university.

The next remarkable place, in order, is the theatrum pyrotechnicum, or fireworks theatre, built on piles in the River Neva, opposite to the imperial winter palace. Here is a long stone building, appropriated to the state colleges and offices.

Just beyond these stands the magnificent and spacious edifice, which was formerly Prince Menshikoff's palace, but is now the academy of the corps of cadets of noble families, and has received considerable additions, though it still wants a left wing. In 1731 the empress Anna, by the advice of the field-marshal, Count Munich, issued a proclamation, by virtue of which all the young nobility and officers' sons, of Russia and Livonia, were invited to St. Petersburg, where they were to be educated gratis, according to their rank, etc. In consequence of this ordinance, in the beginning of 1732, they made their appearance at St. Petersburg, and the above-mentioned palace was assigned for their dwelling.

In 1731 the number of Russian cadets on this foundation was to be two hundred and forty, and that of the Germans one hundred and twenty; which number was then indeed complete, besides some supernumeraries: but it is now no longer so, particularly with respect to the German cadets, as, of late years, they have been obliged to engage that

they will never quit the Russian dominions, nor enter into foreign service. The Germans and Russians, intermixed together, lodge, three, four, five, seven, eight, or ten, in one apartment, under the inspection of a monitor who is either a subaltern, or one of the senior cadets. At dinner they have three, and at supper two dishes served up, a captain and a lieutenant being always present. They form three companies, each of which should consist of one hundred and twenty persons. There is a director, or governor-in-chief; next to him is the commander, who is a lieutenant-colonel, and under him is the major. Every company has a captain, a lieutenant-captain, a first and second lieutenant, ensign, sergeant-major, two sergeants, a capitaine d'armée, a quartermaster, a vice-ensign, four corporals, and eight exempts. Their uniform is green, with straw-colored waistcoats; and the coats they wear upon duty are bordered with narrow gold lace. Their hours for instruction are from seven till eleven in the morning, and from two till six in the afternoon. According to the original plan, their education was to be intrusted to three professors of law, mathematics, history, and the Russian language; four adjuncts or assistants, and twenty-four masters; but some of these places are now vacant. There are also a riding-master and his assistant, an equerry, and four grooms, with a stud of seventy or eighty horses, maintained on this foundation. The corps is under the control of the council of state, and the senate. The salary of the governor-in-chief is one thousand roubles, that of the colonel one thousand five hun-

dred, that of the major seven hundred roubles, and the rest in proportion. The professors and masters have apartments gratis in the house, to which belongs a very fine garden.

Near this academy is the bridge of boats over the Neva; and not far from there is an academy for three hundred and sixty sea cadets.

On the right hand is the Admiralty Island, which is surrounded by the rivers Neva and Fontanka; and from this island the bridge of boats is laid in the summer to Wasili-Ostrow, or Basil's Island. Here are a great number of stone houses, and elegant palaces along the river side, reaching almost to the bridge of boats. The English factory people have their place of worship in this part, and behind it is New Holland, with the rope-walk. The admiralty, or dock-yard, is fortified with a wall and five bastions, planted with several guns; and all ships salute it upon their entrance into the harbor.

Not far from this is the imperial winter palace, a large square building, three stories high; but the architecture is not extraordinary. Behind it is a spacious area, in which stands a noble equestrian statue of gilt brass, erected in honor of Peter I. Contiguous to this, upon the banks of the Neva, are several other palaces, among which is the old imperial winter palace. The dock affords a double vista, one to the Russian Church of the Ascension; the other is terminated by the convent of St. Alexander Newski. The magnificent buildings on both sides of the River Fontanka also make a very fine appearance. The streets behind the admiralty, and through

the fields behind the imperial summer palace, are very grand and magnificent.

The Muscovite side, which is properly the city, lies on the continent; and a part of it is very well built. In this quarter are the following remarkable places: the private dock; the court victualling-office; the foundry on the Neva, in which great numbers of cannon and mortars are cast; the fire-works laboratory; the aqueduct which supplies the fountains in the emperor's garden; the German Lutheran church, dedicated to St. Anne; three Russian churches; the pheasant-house; the Italian garden; Muscovite Jemskoi; the barracks for the horse-guards, together with the stables for their horses; and the convent of St. Alexander Newski. In this convent are deposited the remains of that saint, for which the late empress Elizabeth ordered a silver shrine to be made, which lies on a superb monument, covered with silver plates of a considerable thickness.

Lastly, on the Viborg side, as it is called, are the following places of note, viz.: St. Samson's Church, with the Russian and German burial-places, the sugar-house, the land and sea hospital, the hospital church, the brewers' quarter, the Dutch brewery, a rope-walk, the suburb called Sloboda Kosatschia, a nursery of young oaks, called Great and Little Ockla, a Russian church, and the ruins of Fort Nienschanz, which was taken and destroyed by Peter I. in 1703.

The inhabitants of this large city, besides Russians, consist of all nations; so that a person hears

a great variety of languages, and sees a great diversity of fashions and customs. The burghers or citizens, properly so called, do not exceed two hundred; but the place contains upward of a hundred thousand souls. The morals of the people, as is generally the case in all large cities, are very corrupt and depraved. The suspicious vigilance of the Russian government renders it necessary for a stranger to be very circumspect in his behavior and words; though all possible liberty of conscience is granted to foreigners in religious matters, provided they do not say anything against the Greek religion. The police of this city is good, and strictly executed.

As the limits of this volume will not permit us to enter into a more minute description of this city and its environs, we shall conclude with a short view of the political interests of Russia, with respect to other nations.

These, says the judicious author of "The Present State of Europe," are neither so many, nor so complicated, as might be expected, considering the extent and situation of the empire, which gives its monarchs a right to be considered as Asiatic, as well as European powers. The northern parts of the empire, from the frontiers of the Swedish dominions, to those of China and Japan, are guarded in such a manner as to be secure not only from danger, but from apprehension; having on that side a sea, hitherto impenetrable, and through which a passage, if any could be found, must turn to the benefit of, but can never prove of any disadvantage to, the subjects of Russia; which is a point of great conse-

quence, and a blessing unknown to any other country. The frontiers of the empire toward China are also inaccessible, consisting of deserts impenetrable by armies, but which yield a tolerable passage for caravans; so that the Russians may always depend on the friendship of the Chinese; and whenever they apply themselves seriously thereto, may make this friendship turn to their advantage. The Tartars, inhabiting the countries between Persia and Russia, are no longer formidable to this vast empire; on the contrary, they all respect it, and many of them have voluntarily submitted, and become its vassals. The Caspian Sea, and the dominions which the Russians have on that side, give them a fair opening into Persia, which they have already improved so as to gain to themselves a very advantageous trade; and this, by degrees, may perhaps be extended as far as the East Indies.

It will always be to the interest of Russia to cultivate a good understanding with the shah: but in case of a rupture, she would not have much to fear, since, the frontiers being open, she might soon make an end of the war, by letting loose upon them the Tartars, who are her tributaries. The Turks, and their associates, the Crim Tartars, are more dangerous enemies: but, at present at least, the circumstances of the porte will scarce allow her to break with the Russians, who, if such a thing should happen, can never want the power of defending themselves against them, or even of making them sensible of the folly of wantonly seeking a quarrel. The two Christian principalities dependent upon the Ot-

toman Empire have always a bias in favor of the Russians; and therefore the Turks run a greater hazard by making war with this, than with any other nation.

The interests of Russia in Europe are not hard to assign. As to Sweden, it is of great consequence to her to live upon good terms with that crown; and, on the other hand, the superiority of Russia, when forced into a war, has been so apparent, that there is great reason to think the Swedes will continue quiet on that side for a long time. It is equally requisite for the court of St. Petersburg to be on good terms with the Poles; to which end every proper measure seems to have been taken.

There seems to be no great cause of intercourse between Russia and Denmark, further than what results from attention to the balance of power in the North, which will always incline a wise administration in this empire, to keep the scales as even as may be between this crown and that of Sweden.

The interests of Russia with respect to the house of Austria are its most material concern; for while these imperial houses are united, not only by general alliances, but by a due and hearty regard for each other's prosperity, neither has much to fear from the Turks: but if they are divided, and the Ottomans should recover their ancient power, these may be formidable to both.

ANECDOTES OF PETER THE GREAT.

THE many important and difficult enterprises undertaken and executed by Peter I., none of which had ever entered into the thoughts of any of his predecessors, justly procured him the surname of "Great." Before his time, the knowledge of the Russians was wholly confined to those simple arts which are the result of mere necessity. So powerful is the influence of habit over the generality of mankind, and so little desirous are they of what they do not understand; genius unfolds itself with so much difficulty, and is so easily suppressed by the slightest obstacles, that there is great reason to believe that all nations continued, for thousands of ages, in a state of the most profound ignorance, till, at last, such men as Peter the Great arose, at that precise period when it was proper they should arise.

A young gentleman of Geneva, called Lefort, happened to be at Moscow, with the Danish ambassador, about the year 1695. He had learned the Russian tongue in a very short time, and spoke almost all the European languages. Peter the Great, who was then nineteen years of age, saw Lefort, conceived a liking for him, took him at first into his service, and afterward admitted him into the most intimate familiarity. From him he learned that there was another manner of living and of reigning, than that, which, from time immemorial, had been unhappily established throughout his vast empire; and, had it not been for this young gentleman, Rus-

sia had still remained in its original state of rudeness and barbarity.

Peter must have been born with a soul truly great, otherwise he never would have listened so readily to the instructions of a stranger, nor been able to divest himself of all the prejudices of the prince and of the Russian. He soon perceived that he had a nation and an empire to form anew; but he was possessed of no means equal to the accomplishment of such an arduous and noble enterprise. He resolved to leave his dominions, and to go, like Prometheus, to borrow the heavenly fire to animate his compatriots. This celestial spark he went to search for among the Dutch, who, about three centuries before, were as destitute of it as the Russians themselves. He could not, however, carry his scheme into execution so soon as he could have wished. He was obliged to support a war against the Turks, or rather against the Tartars, in 1696, and it was not till after he had conquered his enemies, that he left his own dominions, and went to learn all the arts which were utterly unknown in Russia. The master of the largest empire in the universe lived almost two years at Amsterdam, and in the village of Saardam, under the name of Peter Michaeloff; though his common appellation was Mr. Peter Bas. He ordered his name to be enrolled among the carpenters of that famous village, which furnished ships to almost all Europe. He handled the adze and the compass; and, after having labored in his shop at ship-building, he studied geography, geometry, and history. The mob at

first crowded about him; but he soon checked their curiosity, by repelling his impertinent visitors with a good deal of rudeness and severity, which, however, those people, so remarkable for pride and resentment, bore with great patience. The first language he learned was the Dutch: he then applied himself to the German, which appeared to him a smooth and harmonious tongue, and which he ordered to be spoken at his own court.

He also acquired a smattering of the English, in his voyage to London; but he never understood the French, which has since become the language of St. Petersburg, under the empress Elizabeth, in proportion as the nation has been civilized and polished.

His stature was tall; his countenance was noble and majestic, but sometimes disfigured by convulsions, which even altered the features of his face. This defect in his organs was commonly attributed to the effects of poison, which was said to have been given him by his sister, Sophia. But the true poison was the wine and brandy, in which, trusting too much to the strength of his constitution, he frequently indulged to excess.

He conversed as frankly with a common mechanic as with the general of an army. In this he acted, not like a barbarian, who makes no distinction between men of different ranks, nor like a popular prince, who wants to ingratiate himself with all the world; he acted like a man who was desirous of acquiring knowledge. He loved women as much as his rival, the king of Sweden, dreaded them; and, as in eating, so in matters of gallantry, everything

was equally good. He prided himself much more on being able to drink a great quantity than on possessing a nice and exquisite taste, capable of distinguishing your fine and delicious wines.

It is a common observation that kings and legislators should not allow themselves to be hurried away by the violence of passion; but no man was ever more passionate, or less merciful, than Peter the Great. This is one of those defects in the character of a king which it is impossible to excuse by a frank confession; at last, however, he became sensible of his failing, and, in his second journey to Holland, he said to a magistrate of that country: "I have reformed my subjects, but have not been able to reform myself." It must be owned, however, that the cruelties with which he is reproached were as customary at the court of Moscow, as at that of Morocco. Nothing was more common than to see a czar inflicting a hundred lashes with a bull's pizzle upon the naked shoulders of one of the first officers of the crown, or of a maid of honor, for having neglected their duty through drunkenness; or trying the goodness of his sabre, by cutting off the head of a criminal. Peter had performed some of these Russian ceremonies. Lefort, indeed, had gained such an ascendency over him, as to be able, sometimes, to stop his hand when he was just on the point of striking; but, unhappily, Lefort was not always in his company.

His journey to Holland, and especially his taste for the arts, which now began to unfold itself, softened his manners a little; for it is the natural ten-

dency of all the arts to render men more humane and sociable. He often breakfasted with a geographer, with whom he made sea-charts. He passed whole days with the famous Ruisch, who first invented the art of making those curious injections, which have carried medicine to so high a degree of perfection, and have freed it from its former nauseousness. Peter gave himself, till the age of twenty-two, such an education as a Dutch mechanic would have given a son in whom he perceived some sparks of genius; and this education was much superior to what any emperor of Russia before him had ever received. At the same time, he sent the young Muscovites to travel and improve themselves in all the countries of Europe. But his first attempts of this nature were attended with little success. His new disciples did not imitate the example of their master; there was even one of them who had been sent to Venice, who never came out of his chamber, that so he might have no cause to reproach himself with having seen any other country than Russia. This strong aversion to foreign countries was infused into them by their priests, who alleged that travelling was an unpardonable crime in a Christian, for the same reason that the Jews, in the Old Testament, had been forbidden to assume the manners of their neighbors, more rich and more industrious than themselves.

In 1698 he left Amsterdam, and went to England, not in the character of a shipwright, nor in that of a sovereign, but under the name of a Russian

gentleman who travelled for his instruction.* He saw and examined everything: he even went to the representation of an English comedy, though he did not understand a word of it; but he found in the theatre an actress, called Miss Crofts, from whom he received some favors without having the generosity to make her fortune.

King William caused a convenient house to be fitted up for his accommodation, which in London is a very great compliment. Palaces are not common in that immense city; there you hardly see anything but low houses, with paltry gates, like those of our shops, without court or garden. Indifferent as the house was, the czar found it too handsome; and, that he might have the better opportunity of improving himself in sea affairs, he took up his lodging in Wapping. He frequently dressed himself in the habit of a sailor, and made use of this disguise to engage several seamen in his service.

It was at London that he formed the design of uniting the Volga and the Don into the same channel. He even intended to join the Dwina to these two rivers by a canal; and thus to reunite the Ocean

*Peter expressed a desire to see the manner in which British criminals were punished with death; but, it proving what is called a maiden session at the Old Bailey, he grew impatient and complained to King William, who told him he could not help his being disappointed, as no person had been condemned, and he had no right to take away the life of any subject until he should receive the sentence of the law. "If that be the case," said Peter, "you may take any of my retinue, and cause them to be executed in the English manner." But this offer his Britannic majesty thought proper to decline.

and the Black and Caspian Seas. The English, whom he carried along with him, served him but poorly in this great project; and the Turks, who took Azov from him in 1712, opposed the execution of such a vast undertaking.

As he happened to want money at London, the merchants of that city offered him a hundred thousand crowns, provided he would grant them the liberty of transporting tobacco into Russia. This was not only a great novelty in Muscovy, but was even inconsistent with the established religion. The patriarch had excommunicated every one that smoked tobacco, because their enemies, the Turks, smoked; and the clergy considered it as one of the greatest privileges of their order to hinder the Russians from smoking. The czar, however, accepted the hundred thousand crowns and undertook to introduce the practice of smoking even among the clergy themselves. He also resolved to make several other innovations in the religious system.

Kings are commonly wont to make presents to such illustrious travellers; and the present which William made to Peter was a genteel compliment worthy of them both; he gave him a yacht of twenty-five guns, an excellent sailer, gilt like a Roman altar, and stored with all kinds of provisions; and the whole ship's crew cheerfully consented that they should be included in the present. In this yacht, of which he was the chief pilot, Peter returned to Holland to revisit his carpenters. From there, about the middle of 1698, he went to Vienna, where there was no necessity for his tarrying so

long as at London, because, at the court of the grave Leopold, there was much more ceremony to be performed, and far less instruction to be gained. After having seen Vienna, he intended to have gone to Venice, and thence to Rome; but a civil war, occasioned by his absence and by the permission of smoking, obliged him immediately to return to Moscow. The strelitzes, the ancient troops of the czars, somewhat akin to the janissaries, as turbulent, as undisciplined, less brave, but not less barbarous, were instigated to revolt by some monks and abbots, half Greeks and half Russians, who persuaded them that God was highly provoked at the introduction of tobacco into Muscovy; and thus threw the whole nation into a flame about this important quarrel. Peter, who was fully apprised of the great power of the monks and strelitzes, had taken his measures accordingly. He had a numerous body of forces, composed almost entirely of foreigners, well disciplined, well paid, and well armed, and who smoked, under the command of General Gordon, a man thoroughly versed in the art of war, and no friend to the monks. This was the very point in which the sultan Osman had failed, when endeavoring, like Peter, to reform his janissaries, and having no power to oppose to their refractory spirit, he was so far from being able to reform them that he lost his life in the attempt.

Peter's armies were now put on the same footing as those of the other European princes. He employed his English and Dutch carpenters in building ships at Veronezh, on the Don, four hundred leagues

from Moscow. He embellished the towns, provided for their safety, made highways five hundred leagues in length, established manufactures of every kind; and, what clearly shows the profound ignorance in which the Russians had formerly lived, their first manufacture was that of pins. They now make flowered velvets and gold and silver stuffs at Moscow. Such mighty things may be performed by one man, when he is an absolute sovereign, and knows how to exert his authority!

The war he waged against Charles XII., in order to recover the provinces which the Swedes had formerly taken from the Russians, notwithstanding the bad success with which it was at first attended, did not hinder him from continuing his reformations, both in Church and State; and accordingly, at the end of 1699, he ordered that the ensuing year should commence in the month of January, and not in the month of September. The Russians, who thought that God had created the world in September, were surprised to hear that their czar had power to alter what God had established. This alteration began with the eighteenth century, and was ushered in by a grand jubilee, which the czar appointed by his own authority; for having suppressed the dignity of the patriarch, he exercised all the functions of that office himself. It is not true, as is commonly reported, that he put the patriarch into the madhouse of Moscow. Whenever he had a mind at once to divert himself and inflict punishment, he was wont to say to the delinquent, "I make you a fool"; and the person to whom he gave this pretty

appellation, were he even the first nobleman of the kingdom, was forced to carry a bauble, jacket, and bells, and to divert the court in quality of his czarish majesty's fool. This task, however, he did not impose upon the patriarch; he contented himself with simply suppressing an employment which those who had enjoyed had abused to such a degree that they obliged the emperors to walk before them once a year, holding the bridle of the patriarchal horse; a ceremony which Peter the Great immediately abolished.

In order to have more subjects, he resolved to have fewer monks; and accordingly ordained that, for the future, no person under fifty years of age should be allowed to take the habit of that order; the consequence of which was, that in his time, of all the countries that contained monks, Russia contained the fewest; but after his death this weed, which he had so happily extirpated, regerminated afresh, owing partly to that natural foible of all monks, the desire of enlarging their numbers, and partly to the foolish indulgence of some governments in tolerating such a pernicious practice.

He also made some prudent regulations relating to the clergy, and tending to the reformation of their lives, although his own, in all conscience, was licentious enough; but he wisely judged that many things are allowable in a sovereign that would be extremely indecent in a curate. Before his time the women lived perpetually secluded from the men. In Russia it was a thing unheard of that a husband should ever see the lady he was to marry. The first

acquaintance he contracted with her was at church; and one of the nuptial presents was a large handful of twigs, which the bridegroom sent to the bride as a kind of warning, that, on the first transgression, she had reason to expect a little matrimonial correction. Husbands had even a power of killing their wives with impunity; but such wives as usurped the same right over their husbands were buried alive.

Peter abolished the bundles of twigs; prohibited the husbands from killing their wives; and, in order to match the two sexes with greater prudence and equality, and by that means to render the married state more happy, he introduced the custom of making the men and women eat together, and of presenting the suitors to their mistresses before the celebration of the marriage. In a word, he prosecuted his salutary schemes with such vigor and resolution that he at last established the social state throughout all his dominions. Every one knows the regulation he made for obliging his noblemen and their ladies to hold assemblies, where all transgressions against Russian politeness were punished by obliging the delinquent to drink a large glass of brandy, so that the honorable company frequently went home much intoxicated and little corrected. But it was a work of no small merit to introduce even a kind of imperfect society among a people who had hitherto lived in a state of the grossest barbarity. He even ventured to exhibit some dramatic performances. The princess Natalia, one of his sisters, wrote some tragedies in the Russian tongue,

not unlike those of Shakespeare, in which tyrants and harlequins form the principal characters. The band of music was composed of Russian fiddles, upon which they played with bulls' pizzles. They have now French comedies and Italian operas at St. Petersburg; in everything grandeur and taste has succeeded to barbarity. One of the most difficult attempts of this great founder of the Russian Empire was to shorten the coats of his subjects and to make them shave their beards. This was the subject of great murmuring and of many complaints. How was it possible to teach a whole nation to make their clothes after the German fashion and to handle the razor? Arduous, however, as was the undertaking, it was at last accomplished by placing at the gates of every town a sufficient number of tailors and barbers; the former clipped the coats and the latter shaved the beards of all those who entered; and such as refused to submit to these regulations were obliged to pay a fine equal to forty pence of our coin. But, in a short time, the people chose to part with their beards rather than their money. The women, who greatly preferred a smooth to a rough chin, assisted the czar in this reformation; to him they were obliged for being exempted from the discipline of the whip, for being indulged with the company of the men, and for having smoother and more decent faces to kiss.

While Peter amused himself in making these reformations, and while he was engaged in a bloody war against Charles XII., he laid, in 1704, the foundations of the large city and harbor of St. Peters-

burg, in a morass, where there was not before so much as a single cottage. He labored with his own hands in building the first house; no difficulties were sufficient to abate his ardor; workmen were compelled to come from the frontiers of Astrakhan, and from the coasts of the Black and Caspian seas to the coast of the Baltic. More than a hundred thousand men perished in the undertaking, partly by the severe labor they were obliged to perform, and partly by the want and hardships to which they were exposed; but, notwithstanding these obstructions, the city was at last raised. The harbors of Archangel and of Astrakhan were likewise built.

To defray the expenses of executing so many mighty projects, of supporting fleets in the Baltic Sea, and of maintaining a hundred thousand regular troops, the public revenue, at that time, was only about twenty millions of livres. I have seen an exact account of it in the possession of a gentleman who had been an ambassador at St. Petersburg. But the wages of the workmen were proportioned to the wealth of the kingdom. It should be remembered that the construction of the pyramids cost the kings of Egypt nothing but onions. I repeat it again; we have only to exert our utmost endeavors; we can never exert them enough.

After having, as it were, created his nation, Peter thought he might take the liberty of gratifying his own humor by espousing his mistress, a mistress who well deserved to be his wife; and accordingly the marriage was solemnized in public in the year 1712. This lady was the famous Catherine,

originally an orphan, born in the village of Ringen, in Esthonia, brought up by a vicar out of mere charity, married to a Livonian soldier, and taken prisoner by a party of the enemy two days after her marriage. She was first a servant in the family of General Bauer, and afterward in that of Menshikoff, who, from a pastry-cook's boy, became a prince of the empire, and the first subject in the nation. At last she was married to Peter the Great; and, after his death, became empress of Russia, a dignity to which her great virtues and abilities gave her a just claim. She softened the ferocity of her husband's manners to a very considerable degree; and saved many more backs from the knout and many more heads from the axe than ever General Lefort had been able to do. They people loved her, they revered her. A German baron, a master of horse to Abbé of Fulda, would have disdained to have married Catherine; but Peter thought that with him merit did not need to be set off by a pedigree of thirty-two generations. Princes are apt to believe that there is no grandeur but what they confer; and that with them all men are equal. Certain it is, birth makes no more difference between one man and another than between an ass whose sire carried dung and an ass whose father carried relics. Education makes a great difference, talents make a greater, and fortune the greatest of all. Catherine had received, from her curate of Esthonia, an education as good, at least, as any lady of Moscow, or of Archangel; and she was born with greater abilities and with a more exalted soul. She had managed the

family of General Bauer and that of Prince Menshikoff, without being able either to read or write. Whoever is capable of ruling a large family is capable of ruling a kingdom. This, perhaps, may seem to be a paradox; but undoubtedly it requires the same economy, the same wisdom and resolution to command a hundred persons, as to command several thousand.

The czarevitch Alexis, son of the czar, who, like him, had married a slave, and, like him, had privately quitted Muscovy, had not the same success in his two undertakings. He even lost his life in an ill-judged attempt to copy the example of his father. This was one of the most shocking acts of severity that ever sovereign exercised; but what reflects great honor on the memory of the empress Catherine, she had no hand in the untimely fate of this prince, who was only her stepson, and who hated everything that his father loved; Catherine was never accused of having acted the cruel stepmother. The great crime of the unhappy Alexis was that he was too much a Russian, and that he disapproved of all the noble and illustrious things which his father had done for the glory and emolument of the nation. One day, as he heard some Muscovites complain of the hard labor they were obliged to endure in building St. Petersburg, "Take comfort," he said, "this city shall not stand long." When he should have been attending his father, in those journeys of five or six hundred leagues which the czar frequently undertook, he pretended to be sick; the physicians purged him severely for a dis-

ease with which he was not troubled; and so many medicines, joined to great quantities of brandy, at once impaired his health and altered his temper. He had at first an inclination for learning; he understood geometry and history, and had learned the German language; but he neither loved war, nor would he study the art of it; and this was the fault with which his father chiefly reproached him. He had been married in 1711, to the sister of the wife of Charles IV. This marriage proved very unhappy; the company of the princess was often abandoned for a debauch of brandy, and for the caresses of one Aphrosyne, a Finnish girl, tall, handsome, and agreeable. Some people pretend that the princess died of grief, if, indeed, grief can ever be the occasion of death; and that afterward the czarevitch married Aphrosyne privately, in 1716, just at the time when the empress Catherine brought him a brother—a present with which he could willingly have dispensed.

The disgust between the father and son became every day more inveterate, till at last, in 1716, Peter threatened to disinherit the prince, and the latter declared his intention of taking the monkish habit.

In 1717, the czar resumed his travels, as well from political views, as from curiosity; and accordingly he now repaired to France. Had his son been inclined to revolt; had he in reality secured a party in his interest, this was the time to carry his scheme into execution; but, instead of continuing in Russia and gaining partisans, he went to travel like his father; after having, with great dif-

ficulty, collected a few thousand ducats, which he privately borrowed. He now threw himself into the arms of the emperor Charles VI., the brother-in-law of his deceased wife. For some time he lived *incognito* at Vienna; thence he went to Naples, where he remained almost a year, without either the czar, or any one in Russia, knowing where he was.

While the son lay thus concealed, the father was in Paris, where he was treated with all the respect and deference which he had met with in other countries, and with a politeness which he could find nowhere but in France. If he went to see a factory, and was charmed with any particular piece of work, he was sure, next day, to receive it as a present. He went to dine with the duke d'Antin, at Petitbourg, where the first thing presented to his view was his own picture at full length, with the dress which he wore. When he went to see the royal collection of medals, the minters struck several medals of every kind before him, and presented them to him with great politeness; at last they struck one, which they purposely let fall at his feet, and left him to pick it up; on this he saw himself engraved in a very elegant manner, with these words, "Peter the Great." The reverse was a Fame, with this inscription, *"Vires acquirit eundo";* an allegory equally just and flattering to a prince who really increased his knowledge by his travels.

Upon seeing the tomb of Cardinal de Richelieu, and the statue of that great minister, worthy of the personage whom it represents, Peter had one of

those violent transports, and expressed one of those noble sentiments, which none but great souls are capable of feeling. He mounted the tomb, and embracing the statue, "Great statesman," said he, "why were you not born in my time? I would have given you one-half of my empire to teach me to govern the other." A gentleman, possessed of less enthusiasm than the czar, upon hearing the explanation of these words, which were originally pronounced in the Russian language, observed, that if he had given him one-half of it, he would not have been long able to preserve the other.

The czar, after having traversed France, where everything disposes the mind to gentleness and clemency, returned to his own country, and there resumed all his former severity. Having prevailed upon his son to leave Naples and repair to St. Petersburg, the young prince was conducted to Moscow, and brought into the presence of his father, who immediately deprived him of his right of succession, and made him sign a solemn deed of renunciation, about the latter end of January, 1718, in consideration of which he promised to grant him his life.

It was not, however, improbable that such an act might one day be reversed; in order, therefore, to strengthen it the more, Peter, forgetting his paternal character, and considering himself only as the founder of an empire, which his son perhaps might replunge into barbarity, caused a process to be openly commenced against this unhappy prince, touching some reservations he was supposed to have

made in the act of renunciation, which had been extorted from him.

An assembly of bishops, abbots, and professors, was convoked; these reverend judges found that, in the Old Testament, those who cursed their father and mother were worthy of death; that, indeed, David had pardoned his son Absalom, who had revolted against him; but that God had never pardoned him. Such was their opinion, without coming to any conclusion; and yet, it was the same in fact as if they had signed a warrant for his execution. Alexis had never cursed his father; he had never revolted like Absalom; he had never lain publicly with the king's concubines; he had travelled, indeed, without the king's permission, and he had written some letters to his friends, in which he had only expressed his hopes that they would, one day, remember him in Russia. But, notwithstanding those favorable circumstances, of the hundred and twenty-four secular judges who sat on his trial, there was not one that did not vote for his death; and such of them as could not write caused their names to be signed by others. A report has been spread abroad in Europe, and it has been often committed to writing, that the czar caused to be translated, from the Spanish into the Russian language, the criminal process against Don Carlos, that unfortunate prince and heir of a great kingdom, whom his father, Philip II., threw into prison, where he miserably ended his days; but the truth is, there never was any process against Don Carlos; nor was the manner of his death, whether natural or

violent, ever fully known. Besides, Peter, of all princes the most despotic, needed not any precedents. What is certain is that the son died in his bed the day after the trial, and Peter had then at Moscow one of the best furnished apothecaries' shops in Europe. It is probable, however, that the death of Prince Alexis, the heir of the most extensive empire in the universe, and unanimously condemned by those who were his father's subjects, and who, had he lived, would have one day become his, might be owing to the terrible shock which a sentence so fatal and unprecedented must have given to his constitution. The father went to see his son when just upon the point of expiring, and is said to have shed some tears. *Infelix, utcumque ferent ea fata nepotes.* But notwithstanding his tears, the wheels were covered with the broken limbs of his son's friends. He even beheaded his own brother-in-law, Count Lapoukin, brother of his wife Eudocia Lapoukin, whom he had divorced, and uncle of Prince Alexis, whose confessor likewise lost his head. If the Russians have been civilized, it must be confessed they have paid dearly for their politeness.

The remaining part of the czar's life was spent in the prosecution of those great designs and of those noble schemes and projects which seemed to efface the memory of his cruelties, which, after all, perhaps, were absolutely necessary. He frequently made speeches to his court and council; in one of these he told them that he had sacrificed his son to the safety and welfare of his dominions.

After the glorious peace which he at last concluded with Sweden, in 1721, by which he obtained the whole of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, and the half of Karelia and Viborg, the states of Russia bestowed upon him the name of "Great," of "Father of his Country," and of "Emperor." The states were represented by the senate, who solemnly conferred these titles upon him in presence of the count de Kinski, minister of the emperor; of M. de Campredon, envoy of France, and the ambassadors of Prussia and Holland. The European princes have been gradually accustomed to give this title of emperor to the Russian sovereign; but this dignity does not hinder the French ambassador from taking the right hand of those of Russia upon all occasions. The Russians undoubtedly should regard Peter as the greatest of men. From the coasts of the Baltic Sea to the frontiers of China, he is a hero; but should he be considered in the same light among us? Is he comparable to our Condés or our Villars, in valor, or to an infinite number of our contemporaries, in knowledge, in genius, and in morals? No; but he was a king, and a king badly educated; and he performed what, perhaps, a thousand sovereigns in his situation would never have accomplished. He was possessed of that strength of mind which raises a man above all kinds of prejudice, as well with regard to the past as the present. He was an architect who built with brick, and who, in any other country, would have built with marble. Had he reigned in France he would have carried the arts, from the condition in which they now are, to the

highest degree of perfection. His having five and twenty large ships on the Baltic Sea was an object of admiration; in our ports he would have had two hundred.

From a view of what he has done at St. Petersburg, one may easily judge what he would have done at Paris. What surprises me most is the little reason there was to hope that such a man as Peter the Great should ever have arisen at Moscow. It was as all the men who have ever inhabited Russia is to one, that a genius, so different from the general character of their nation, would never be bestowed upon any Russian; and it was still farther, as sixteen million, the number of the Russians at present, is to one, that this genius would not fall to the lot of the czar in particular. But notwithstanding these improbabilities, the thing has actually happened. A prodigious number of favorable circumstances must have concurred; an infinite series of ages must have elapsed before nature produced the man who invented the plough, or him to whom we are indebted for the art of weaving. The Russians nowadays are not surprised at their rapid progress; in less than fifty years they have become so familiarly acquainted with all the arts that one would imagine they had been in possession of them for a much greater length of time. There are still vast tracts of land in Africa that require the reforming hand of a Peter the Great; such a one may happen to come in some millions of years; for everything is too slow in coming.

THE IGNORANT PHILOSOPHER.

THE IGNORANT PHILOSOPHER.

These papers were written in 1766, illustrating in the author's inimitable way the difficulties facing the orthodox philosophies in their attempts to explain the problems of existence.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

WHO art thou? From whence dost thou come? What is thy employment? What will become of thee? These are questions that should be put to every being in the universe, but to which no one replies. I ask of plants by what virtue they grow, and how the same earth produces such a diversity of fruits? These insensible and mute beings, though enriched with a divine faculty, leave me to my own ignorance and to vain conjectures.

I interrogate that herd of different animals, all which have the power of motion and communication, who enjoy the same sensations as myself, whose passions are accompanied with an extent of ideas and memory. They are still more ignorant than myself what they are, wherefore they exist, and what they shall become.

I suspect, I have even some reason to believe that the planets, the innumerable suns which replenish space, are peopled with sensible and thinking people; but an eternal barrier separates us, and no inhabitant of the other globes ever communed with us.

The prior, in "Nature Displayed," says to the

knight, that the stars were made for the earth, and the earth as well as animals for man. But as the little globe of earth revolves with the other planets round the sun; as the regular and proportionate motions of the stars may eternally subsist without men; as there are in our little planet an infinitely greater number of animals than human beings; I imagine that the prior was actuated by too great a share of self-love, in flattering himself that everything had been made for him. I find that man in his lifetime will be devoured by every kind of animal, if he be defenceless, and that they all devour him after his death. Wherefore I have had some difficulty in conceiving that the prior and the knight were the sovereigns of nature. A slave to everything that surrounds me, instead of being a king; chained to a single point, and environed with immensity; I will begin by searching into myself.

II.—OUR WEAKNESS.

I am a weak animal; at my birth I have neither strength, knowledge, nor instinct; I cannot even crawl to my mother's breast, like every quadruped; I only acquire a few ideas, as I acquire a little strength, and as my organs begin to unfold themselves. The strength increases in me, till such time as having attained my full growth it daily decreases. This power of conceiving ideas increases in the same manner during its term, and afterward by degrees insensibly vanishes.

What is that mechanism which momentarily increases the strength of my members as far as the

prescribed boundaries? I am ignorant of it; and those who have passed their whole lives in the research know no more than myself.

What is that other power, which conveys images into my brain, and which preserves them in my memory? Those who are paid for knowing have made only fruitless inquiries; we are all in the same state of ignorance, with regard to the first principles of our infant state.

III.—HOW AM I TO THINK?

Have the books which have been written for these two thousand years taught me anything? We have sometimes a desire of knowing in what manner we think, though we have seldom any desire of knowing how we digest, how we walk. I have questioned my reason, and asked what it is. This question has always confounded me.

I have endeavored to discover by it, if the springs that make me digest, which make me walk, are those whereby I receive ideas. I never could conceive how and wherefore these ideas fled when my body languished with hunger, and how they were renovated after I had eaten.

I discovered such a wide difference between thought and nourishment, without which I should not think, that I believed there was a substance in me that reasoned, and another substance that digested. Nevertheless, by constantly endeavoring to convince myself that we are two, I materially felt that I was only one; and this contradiction gave me infinite pain.

I have asked some of my own likenesses who cultivate the earth, our common mother, with great industry, if they felt that they were two; if they had discovered by their philosophy that they possessed within them an immortal substance, and nevertheless formed of nothing, existing without extent, acting upon their nerves without touching them, sent expressly into them six weeks after their conception? They thought that I was jesting, and pursued the cultivation of their land without making me a reply.

IV.—IS IT NECESSARY FOR ME TO KNOW?

Finding then that a prodigious number of men had not even the slightest idea of the difficulties that disturbed me, and had no doubts of what is taught in schools, of being, in general, matter and spirit, etc., finding that they often ridiculed my desire of being acquainted with these things; I suspected that it was not in the least necessary that we should know them; I imagined that nature has given to every being a portion that is proper for him; and I thought that those things which we could not attain did not belong to us. But notwithstanding this despair, I cannot divest myself of a desire of being instructed; and my baffled curiosity is ever insatiable.

V.—ARISTOTLE, DESCARTES, AND GASSENDI.

Aristotle begins by saying that incredulity is the source of wisdom; Descartes has carried this sentiment still further, and they have both taught me to believe nothing they say. This Descartes, particu-

larly, after pretending to doubt, speaks in such an affirmative manner of what he does not understand; he is sure of the fact, when he is grossly mistaken in physics; he has built such an imaginary world; his whirlwinds and three elements are so prodigiously ridiculous that I ought to suspect everything he says upon the soul, after he has imposed upon me with respect to bodies.

He believes, or affects to believe, that we are born with metaphysical ideas. I would as soon aver that Homer was born with the "Iliad" in his head. It is very true that Homer, at his birth, had a brain so constructed that, having afterward acquired poetical ideas, sometimes fine, sometimes incoherent, or sometimes exaggerated, he at length composed the "Iliad." We bring into the world at our birth the seed of what afterward displays itself in us; but we have really no more innate ideas than Raphael and Michelangelo had at their birth pencils and colors.

Descartes endeavors to unite his scattered chimeras by supposing men always to think. I would as soon imagine that birds never cease flying, or dogs running, because they are endowed with these abilities.

We need only consult a little of our experience, and that of human nature, to be thoroughly convinced of the contrary; there is no man mad enough to firmly believe he has thought all his life, night and day, without interruption, from the time of his being a fœtus till his last illness. The only resource of those who have defended such a romance has

been to say that we always think, but we do not always perceive that we think. It might be as well asserted that we drink, eat, and ride on horseback without knowing it. If you don't perceive that you possess any ideas, how can you affirm that you have any? Gassendi ridiculed this extravagant system as it deserved. Do you know what was the consequence? Gassendi and Descartes were pronounced atheists.

VI.—BEASTS.

Man being supposed to have continually possessed ideas, perceptions, and conceptions, it naturally follows that beasts were likewise always in possession of them; for it is incontestable that a hunting dog has the idea of the master he obeys, and of the game that he brings him. It is evident that he has memory, and that he combines some ideas. Thus, then, if the thought of man be the essence of his soul, that of the dog is the essence of his soul, and if man always had ideas, animals must necessarily have had them also. To remove this difficulty, the manufacturer of whirlwinds and chamfered matter dared to say that beasts were pure machines, who sought for food without appetite, who had constantly had the organs of sensation without ever having the least sensation, who cried without pain, who testified joy without pleasure, who possessed a brain incapable of receiving the slightest idea, and who were therefore a perpetual contradiction.

This system was as ridiculous as the other; but instead of exposing its extravagance, it was treated

as impious. It was pretended that this system was repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, which say in Genesis: "And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it;" which manifestly supposes in beasts a knowledge of, and acquaintance with, good and evil.

VII.—EXPERIENCE.

Let us never introduce the Holy Scriptures into our philosophical disputes; these are things too heterogeneous, and they have no relation to it. The point here is to examine what we can know by ourselves, and this is reduced to a very narrow compass. We must give up all pretensions to common sense not to agree that we know nothing in the world but by experience; and certainly, if it is only by experience, and by a succession of groping and long reflection, that we obtain some feeble and slight ideas of body, of space, time, infinity, and God Himself; it would not be worth while for the Author of nature to put these ideas into the brain of every fœtus, in order that only a very small number of men should make use of them.

We are all, with respect to the objects of our knowledge, like the ignorant lovers, Daphnis and Chloe, whose amours and innocence Longus has depicted. They required much time to learn how to satisfy their desires, they having no experience. The same thing happened to the emperor Leopold, and to a son of Louis XIV.; it was necessary to instruct them. If they had been born with innate

ideas, we should believe that nature would not have refused them the knowledge necessary for the preservation of the human species.

VIII.—SUBSTANCE.

As we can have no notion, but by experience, it is not impossible that we can ever know what matter is. We touch, we see the properties of this substance; but this very expression, "substance which is beneath," sufficiently acquaints us that this thing beneath will ever be unknown to us; whatever we may discover of its appearance, there will always remain this *beneath* to discover. For the same reason, we can never know by ourselves what is *spirit*. It is a word which usually signifies breath, and by which we endeavor to express vaguely and grossly that which gives us thoughts. But when, even by a prodigy, which is not to be supposed, we should acquire some slight idea of the substance of this spirit, we should be no farther advanced, and we could never guess how this substance received sentiments and thoughts. We know very well that we have some small intellectual faculty; but how do we obtain it? This is a secret of nature, which she has not divulged to any mortal.

IX.—NARROW LIMITS.

Our intellects are very confined as well as the strength of our body. Some men are more robust than others; there are also Herculean minds with respect to thought; but at the bottom this superiority is a very trivial thing. One can lift ten times as

much matter as myself; another can do in his head and without paper, a division of fifteen figures, while I divide three or four only with much difficulty; here then is the extent of that vaunted strength; its limits are very confined; and therefore in games of combination, no man, after having trained himself with great application and long practice, will, with all his efforts, get beyond that degree of perfection allotted him; this is the goal of his intellect. It is absolutely necessary that it should be so, otherwise we should gradually go on to infinity.

X.—IMPOSSIBLE DISCOVERIES.

In this narrow circle by which we are circumscribed, let us see of what we are condemned to be ignorant, and of what we gain a little knowledge. We have already found that no first resource, no first principle, can be traced by us.

Why does my arm obey my will? We are so accustomed to this incomprehensible phenomenon that very few pay attention to it; and when we want to trace the cause of so common an effect, we find that there is infinity between our will and the obedience of our limb; that is to say, there is no proportion between them, no reason, no apparent cause; and we feel that we might think to eternity, without being able to discover the least glimpse of probability.

XI.—THE FOUNDATION OF DESPAIR.

Thus stopped at the very first onset, and vainly relying upon ourselves, we are dismayed from seek-

ing after ourselves, as we can never discover ourselves. To ourselves we are inexplicable.

We know pretty nearly, with the assistance of triangles, that the sun and earth are about thirty millions of geometrical miles distant; but what is the sun? Why does it turn upon its axis? Why in one sense more than another? Why do Saturn and we revolve round this planet sooner from west to east than from east to west? This question will not only ever remain unsatisfied, but we shall never discover the least possibility to devise a physical cause for it. Wherefore? Because the first knot of this difficulty is in the principle of things.

It is the same with respect to what acts within us, as to what actuates the immense spaces of nature. There is in the arrangement of the planets, and in the formation of a handworm, and a man, the first principle, the avenue to which must necessarily be barred against us. For if we could be acquainted with the cause of our first origin, we should be its masters, we should be gods. Let us illustrate this idea, and see if it be just.

Suppose that we found, in effect, the cause of our sensations, of our thoughts, and our motions, as we have only discovered in the planets the reason of eclipses and of the different phases of the moon and Venus; it is evident we could then foretell our sensations, our thoughts, and our desires resulting from these sensations, as we predict the phases and the eclipses. Being then acquainted with what would happen to-morrow within us, we should

clearly see by the play of this machine whether we should be affected in a fatal or auspicious manner. We have, it is agreed, a will that directs our interior motions in various circumstances. For example, I find myself disposed to wrath; my reflection and will suppress its growing exhibition; I shall see if I know my first principles, all the affections to which I am disposed for to-morrow, all the successive ideas that wait for me; I could have the same power over this succession of ideas and sentiments as I sometimes exert over actual sentiments and thoughts, which I divert and repress. I should find myself precisely in the same position as every man who can retard and accelerate, according to his will, the motion of a watch, a ship, or any other well-known machine.

Being master of the ideas that are destined for me to-morrow, I should be also of those for the following day, and even the remainder of my life; I could then be ever powerful over myself, I should be the God of myself. I am very sensible that this state is incompatible with my nature; it is therefore impossible that I can know anything of the first principle which makes me think and act.

XII.—DOUBT.

Is that which is impossible for my weak, limited nature of so short duration, equally impossible in other globes, in other species of beings? Are there any superior intelligences, masters of all their ideas, who think and feel all that they choose? I know

nothing of the matter; I am only acquainted with my own weakness; I have no idea of the powers of others.

XIII.—AM I FREE?

Let us not yet quit the circle of our existence; let us examine ourselves as far as we are able. I remember one day before I had put all the foregoing questions, a reasoner wanted to make me reason. He asked me if I was free? I replied that I was not in prison, that I had the key of my chamber, that I was perfectly free. "That is not what I asked you," he replied; "do you believe your will is at liberty to dispose or not to dispose you to throw yourself out of the window? Do you think, with the scholastic angel, that the free agent is an appetitive power, and the free agent is lost by sin?" I fixed my eyes upon the querist, in order to read in his if he were not out of his mind; and I answered that I did not understand the least of his gibberish.

Nevertheless, this question as to the freedom of man greatly interested me; I read scholastics, and, like them, I was in the dark; I read Locke, and I discovered some rays of light; I read Collins's treatise, which appeared to me an improvement upon Locke; and I have never read anything since that has given me additional instruction. This is what my weak reason has conceived, with the assistance of these two great men, the only two who have, in my opinion, understood themselves in writing upon this subject, and the only two who have made themselves understood to others.

There is nothing without a cause. An effect without a cause are words without meaning. Every time that I have a will, this can only be in consequence of my judgment, good or bad; this judgment is necessary; consequently, so is my will. In effect, it would be very singular that all nature, all the planets, should obey eternal laws, and that there should be a little animal five feet high, who, in contempt of these laws, could act as he pleased, solely according to his caprice. He would act by chance; and we know that chance is nothing. We have invented this word to express the known effect of all unknown causes.

My ideas necessarily enter into my brain; how then can my will, which depends upon them, be free? I feel upon various occasions that this will is not free; thus when I am overwhelmed with illness, when I am transported with passion, when my judgment cannot comprehend objects that present themselves to me, etc. I should think, therefore, that the laws of nature, being always the same, my will is not more free in things that appear to me the most indifferent, than in those in which I find myself impelled by an invincible force.

To be really free is to have power. My liberty consists in doing what I choose; but I must necessarily choose what I will; otherwise it would be without reason, without cause, which is impossible. My liberty consists in walking when I have a mind to walk, and I have not the gout.

My liberty consists in not doing a bad action when my mind necessarily represents it as a bad

action; in subduing a passion, when my mind points out to me the danger of it, and the horror of the act powerfully combats my desire. We may suppress our passions—as I have already said—but then we are not freer in suppressing our desires than by letting ourselves be carried away by our inclinations; for in both cases we irresistibly pursue our last idea; and this last idea is necessary; wherefore I necessarily perform what this dictates to me. It is strange that men should not be content with this measure of liberty; that is to say, the power which they have received from nature of doing what they choose; the planets have it not; we possess it, and our pride makes us sometimes believe that we possess still more. We figure to ourselves that we have the incomprehensible and absurd gift of election, without reason, without any other motive than that of free-will. (See No. XXIX.)

No, I cannot forgive Dr. Clarke for having sophistically opposed these truths, the force of which he felt, but which did not well agree with his systems. No, it is not allowed to such a philosopher as him to attack Collins as a sophist, by changing the state of the question, and reproaching Collins with calling man "a necessary agent." Agent or patient, what does it signify? An agent when he voluntarily moves; a patient when he receives ideas. What does the name to the thing? Man is in everything a dependent being, as nature is throughout dependent, and he cannot be excepted from other beings.

The preacher in Samuel Clarke stifles the phi-

losopher; he distinguishes the physical from the moral necessity. And what is a moral necessity? It appears probable to you that a queen of England, whose coronation ceremony is performed in a church, will not cast off her regal robes to throw herself quite naked upon the altar, though a similar adventure is related of a queen of Congo. You call this a moral necessity in a queen of our climate; but it is at the bottom a physical and eternal necessity, blended with the constitution of things. It is as certain this queen will not be guilty of such a folly as that she will one day die. Moral necessity is but a phrase; all that is done is absolutely necessary. There is no medium between necessity and chance; and you know there is no chance; wherefore all that happens is necessary.

To embarrass the thing still more, efforts have been made to distinguish again between necessity and constraint; but constraint, in fact, is nothing but necessity that is perceived, and necessity is a constraint that is unperceived. Archimedes is equally necessitated to remain in his chamber when shut in, as when he is deeply engaged with a problem, and the idea of going out does not occur to him.

Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.

The ignoramus who thinks in this manner, did not always think the same; but he is at length compelled to yield.

XIV.—IS EVERYTHING ETERNAL?

Subject to eternal laws like every sphere that replenishes space, as the elements, animals, and plants,

I view with astonishment everything that surrounds me; I search for my author, and the author of that immense machine of which I am scarcely a perceptible wheel.

I am not derived from nothing; for the substance of my father and mother, who bore me nine months in her womb, is something. It is evident to me that the sperm which produced me could not be produced from nothing; for how can nothing produce existence? I find myself subdued by this maxim of all antiquity: "Nothing arises from naught, nothing can return to naught."

This axiom carries with it such dreadful power that it bears down all my understanding, without my being able to contend with it. No philosopher has ever lost sight of it. No legislator whatsoever has contested it. The *Cahut* of the Phœnicians, the *Chaos* of the Greeks, the *Tohu-bohu* of the Chaldæans and the Hebrews, all evince that the eternity of matter has ever been believed. My reason, perhaps deceived by so ancient and general an idea, tells me that matter must necessarily be eternal, because it exists; if it was in being yesterday, it was before.

I cannot perceive any probability of its having begun to be, any cause why it had not been, any cause wherefore it received existence at one time more than at another. I therefore yield to this conviction, whether well or ill founded, and I list myself under the banner of the whole world, till such time as, having made some progress in my researches, I discover a luminary superior to the judgment of

all mankind, which compels me to retract against my will.

But if, according to the opinion of so many philosophers of antiquity, the Eternal Being has always acted, what becomes of the *Cahut* and *Erebus* of the Phœnicians, the *Tohu-bohu* of the Chaldæans, the *Chaos* of Hesiod? They will remain fables. Chaos is an impossibility in the eyes of reason; for it is impossible that, intelligence being eternal, there should ever have been anything contrary to the laws of that intelligence; now the chaos is precisely contrary to all the laws of nature. Enter into the most horrid caverns of the Alps, under those ruins of rocks, ice, sand, water, unfashioned crystals, and minerals, they all submit to gravitation. Chaos never existed anywhere but in our heads, and has only served to assist Hesiod and Ovid in composing some elegant verses.

If our Holy Scripture says *Chaos* did exist, if it had adopted the *Tohu-bohu,* we doubtless believe it, and with the most ready faith. We are, in this place, speaking only of the deceitful lights of our reason. We have confined ourselves, as we have said, to what we may suspect by ourselves. We are children, who endeavor to go a few steps without leading-strings.

XV.—INTELLIGENCE.

But in perceiving the order, the prodigious skill, and the mechanical and geometrical laws that reign in the universe, their causes and the innumerable ends of all things, I am seized with admiration and

respect. I immediately judge that if the works of man, even my own, compel me to acknowledge an intelligence within us, I should acknowledge one far more superior actuating the multitude of so many works. I admit of this supreme intelligence, without fearing that I shall be obliged to change my opinion. Nothing staggers me with respect to this axiom, every work demonstrates a workman.

XVI.—ETERNITY.

Is this intelligence eternal? Doubtless, for whether I admit or reject the eternity of matter, I cannot reject the eternal existence of its supreme artisan; and it is evident that if it exists at present, it ever has existed.

XVII.—INCOMPREHENSIBILITY.

I have as yet advanced only two or three steps in this vast career; I want to know if this divine intelligence is something absolutely distinct from the universe, nearly as the sculptor is distinguished from the statue; or whether this soul of the world is united to the world, and still penetrates it nearly in the same manner as what I call my soul is united to me, and according to that of antiquity so well expressed in Virgil and Lucan:

Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet,
Jupiter est quodcumque vides quocumque moveris.

I find myself suddenly interrupted in the prospect of my vain curiosity. Miserable mortal, if I cannot fathom my own intelligence; if I cannot know by what I am animated, how can I have any acquaint-

ance with that ineffable intelligence which visibly presides over matter entirely? There is one, as everything demonstrates, but where is the compass that will direct me toward its secret and eternal abode?

XVIII.—INFINITY.

Is this intelligence infinite in power and immensity, as it is incontestably infinite in duration? I can know nothing of this by myself. It does exist, wherefore it has ever existed; that is clear. But what idea can I have of an infinite power? How can I conceive an infinity actually existing? How can I suppose that the supreme intelligence is in the vacuum? An infinity of extent is not the same as an infinity of duration. An infinity of duration has elapsed the instant that I am speaking of it; it is certain that I can add nothing to past duration, but I can always add to that space which I conceive, in the same manner that I can add to the numbers that I conceive. Infinity in numbers and extent is beyond the sphere of my understanding. All that can be said can give me no insight into this abyss. I happily feel that my difficulties and my ignorance can be no way pernicious to morality; we may very well be incapable of perceiving neither immensity of space replenished, nor infinite power, which has created everything, and which may nevertheless be still able to perform; this will only serve to prove still more the weakness of our understanding; and this weakness will render us only still more submissive to that eternal Being whose work we are.

XIX.—MY DEPENDENCE.

We are His work. This is an important truth for us to know; for to know philosophically at what time He made man, what He did before, if He exists materially, or in vacuum, if He is at one point, if He constantly acts or not, if He acts everywhere, if He acts without or within Himself; these are researches which strengthen the conviction of my profound ignorance.

I even see that there have been scarcely a dozen men in Europe who have written upon these abstracted things with any kind of method; and if I could suppose that they had spoken in an intelligible manner, what would be the consequence? We have already found (No. IV.) that things which so few persons can flatter themselves with understanding are useless to the rest of mankind. We certainly are the work of God, this is useful for me to know; and the proof is also clear. All things in my body are causes and effects; that is, spring, pulley, moving power, hydraulic machine, equilibrium of fluids, and chemical laboratory. It is therefore arranged by an intelligence (No. XV.). I am not indebted for this arrangement to the intelligence of my parents, for they certainly did not know what they did when they produced me; they were only the blind instruments of this eternal manufacturer, who animates the worm of the earth and makes the sun turn upon its own axis.

XX.—ETERNITY AGAIN.

Born from seed, produced by other seed, has there been a continual succession, an unfolding without end of these seeds, and has all nature ever existed by a necessary succession from that Supreme Being who existed of Himself? If I were to believe only my feeble understanding, I should say it seems to me that nature has always been animated. I cannot conceive that the cause which continually and visibly actuates her, being at all times able to act, has not always acted. An eternity of idleness in the active and necessary being appears to me incompatible. I am inclined to believe that the world has ever issued from that primitive and necessary cause, as light emanates from the sun. By what concatenation of ideas do I find myself led to believe the works of the Eternal Being eternal? My conception, pusillanimous as it is, has strength enough to rise to a being necessarily existing by Himself, but has not the strength to conceive naught. The existence of a single atom proves to me the eternity of existence, but nothing proves to me a mere void. What, is that space filled that was once a vacuum? This appears absurd and contradictory. I cannot allow of this *nothing,* this *void,* unless revelation assists me in fixing my ideas, which carry me beyond time.

I am sensible that an infinite succession of beings without origin is equally absurd; this is the opinion of Samuel Clarke; but he does not undertake to affirm that God has not held this claim from all eternity; he dare not say that it was impossible for

a being eternally active so long to display his works. It is evident that he could, and if he could, who will be bold enough to tell me that he did not? Once more I say that nothing but revelation can teach me the contrary. But we have not yet attained that revelation which destroys all philosophy, that light before which all other lights are eclipsed.

XXI.—MY DEPENDENCE AGAIN.

This Eternal Being, this universal cause, gives me my ideas; for I do not receive them from objects. Unshaped matter cannot communicate any thoughts to me; my thoughts do not come from myself, for they occur against my will, and frequently escape the same. We know very well that there is no resemblance, no connection between objects, our ideas, and sensations. There was certainly something sublime in that Malebranche, who dared to imagine that we see everything in God Himself. But was there not something sublime in the Stoics, who thought that God acted within us, and that we possess a ray of His substance? Where shall we find truth between the dreams of Malebranche and the Stoics? I sink again (No. II.) into ignorance, which is the appendage of our nature, and I adore that God by whom I think, without knowing how I think.

XXII.—A FRESH QUESTION.

Convinced by my small share of reason that there is a necessary Eternal Being from whom I receive my ideas, without being able to divine how or wherefore, I ask what is this being? Has it the form

of those intelligent and active species superior to ours in other globes? I have already said I knew nothing of the matter (No. I.). Nevertheless, I cannot affirm it to be impossible; for I perceive planets very superior to ours in extent, surrounded with more satellites than the earth. It is not improbable that they may be peopled with intelligences far superior to me, with bodies more robust, more active, and more durable. But their existence having no connection with mine, I shall leave it to the poets of antiquity to make Venus descend from her imaginary third heaven, and Mars from the fifth. My inquiries should be confined to the action of the Being necessarily presiding over myself.

XXIII.—A SOLE SUPREME ARTIST.

A great part of mankind, observing the physical and moral evil diffused through this globe, imagined there were two powerful beings, one of which produced all the good, and the other all the evil. If they existed they were necessary; they therefore necessarily existed in the same place; there is no reason that what exists by its own nature should be excluded any place; they therefore penetrated each other—this is absurd. The idea of these two powerful enemies can derive its origin only from examples that strike us upon earth; we there observe gentle and ferocious men, useful and obnoxious animals, good masters and tyrants. There were two opposite powers devised, who presided over nature; this is only an Asiatic romance. There is throughout nature a manifest unity of design;

the laws of motion and gravity are invariable; it is impossible that two supreme artists, in opposition to each other, could have followed the same laws. This alone has, in my opinion, overturned the Manichæan system, and voluminous writings are superfluous to explode it.

There is then a sole Eternal Power, to whom everything is united, on whom all depends; but whose nature is to me incomprehensible. St. Thomas tells us: "God is a pure act, a form that has neither gender nor predicament; He is nature, and the agent; He exists essentially, participatively, and noncupatively." When the Dominicans were masters of the Inquisition, they would have burned a man who would have denied these fine things—I should not have denied them, but I should not have understood them.

I am told that God is simple; I acknowledge that I do not understand any more the value of this word. It is true that I should not attribute to him gross parts that I could separate; but I cannot conceive that the principal and master of all that is in the extent should not be in the extent. Simplicity, strictly speaking, appears to me to resemble too much a nonentity. The extreme weakness of my understanding has no instrument nice enough to lay hold of its simplicity. Shall I be told that the mathematical point is simple, but the mathematical point does not really exist.

It is again said that an idea is simple, but I do not understand this a whit better. I perceive a horse; I have the idea of it, but I see in him only an

assemblage of things. I see a color; I have the idea of color, but this color is extent. I pronounce the abstract names of color in general; of vice, virtue, truth, in general; but the reason is that I have had a knowledge of things colored, of things that have appeared to me virtuous or vicious, true or false. I express all this by a word; but I have no clear knowledge of simplicity. I know no more of it than I do of an infinity in numbers actually existing.

I am already convinced that not knowing what I am, I cannot know what is my author. I am every instant overwhelmed with my ignorance, and I console myself by incessantly reflecting that it is of no consequence to me to know whether my Master is or is not in the extent, provided I do nothing against that conscience He has given me. Of all the systems which men have invented upon the Divinity, which, then, shall I embrace? Not one, without it be that of adoring Him.

XXIV.—SPINOZA.

After being immersed with Thales in the water, of which his first principle consisted; after glowing before Empedocles's fire; after running in a straight line in the vacuum, with Epicurus's atoms; after having calculated numbers with Pythagoras and heard his music; after having paid my respects to the Androgines of Plato, and having passed through all the regions of metaphysics and madness; I was at length desirous of being acquainted with the system of Spinoza.

He is not new; he has imitated some ancient

Greek philosophers, and even some Jews; but Spinoza has done what no Greek philosopher, and much less a Jew, ever did. He has used an imposing geometrical method to calculate the net produce of his ideas. Let us see if he has not methodically wandered with the thread that conducts him.

He at first establishes a clear and incontestable fact. There is something, consequently there has eternally existed a necessary being. This principle is so true that the profound Samuel Clarke has availed himself of it to prove the existence of God.

This being must be found in all places where there is existence; for who can limit it?

This necessary being is then everything that exists; wherefore there is only one substance in the universe.

This substance cannot create another; for as it fills everything, where can a new substance be placed, and how can something be created from nothing? How can extent be created without placing it in extent itself, which necessarily exists?

There are in the world thought and matter; that necessary substance which we call God is therefore thought and matter. All thought and all matter are then comprehended in the immensity of God; there can be nothing out of Him; they can only act within Him; He comprehends everything; He is everything.

Wherefore everything we call different substances is, in fact, nothing but the universality of the different attributes of the Supreme Being, who thinks in the brain of man, enlightens in the light,

moves upon the winds, darts in the lightning, revolves in the planets, and exists in all nature.

He is not like a vile king of the earth, confined to his palace, separated from his subjects; He is intimately united with them; they are essential parts of Himself; if He were distinguished from them He would be no longer universal, He would not fill all space, He would be a side being like another.

Though all the variable modifications in the universe are the effect of His attributes, nevertheless, according to Spinoza, He has no parts; "for," says he, "infinity has none, properly speaking." In fine, Spinoza pronounces that we must love this necessary, infinite, eternal God. These are his words (Edit. of 1731, p. 451):

"With regard to the love of God, this idea is so far from weakening it, that I think no other is so fit to increase it, since it teaches me that God is intimate with my being; that He gives me existence and all my properties; that He gives them to me liberally, without reproach, without interest, without subjecting me to anything but my own nature. It banishes fear, uneasiness, diffidence, and all the defects of a mean and sordid love. It teaches me that it is a possession I cannot lose, and which I the more advantageously possess, as I know and love it."

These ideas seduced many readers; there were even some, who having at first written against him, afterward embraced his opinion.

The learned Bayle is upbraided with having severely attacked Spinoza, without understanding him. Severely, I agree to; but I do not think unjustly.

He easily discovered the weak side of this enchanted castle; he saw that Spinoza, in fact, composed his God of parts, though he found himself compelled to retract, terrified at his own system. Bayle saw his frenzy in making God a star and a pumpkin, thought and smoke, beating and beaten. He saw that this fable is much beneath that of Proteus. Perhaps Bayle should have confined himself to the word "modalities," and not parts, as Spinoza always makes use of the word "modalities." But, if I am not mistaken, it is equally impertinent whether the excrement of an animal is a modality or a part of the Supreme Being.

He did not indeed attack the reasons by which Spinoza maintains the impossibility of the creation; but the reason is that the creation, properly speaking, is an object of faith, and not of philosophy; because this opinion is no way peculiar to Spinoza, and all antiquity have thought like him. He attacks only the absurd idea of a simple God, composed of parts, of a God that eats and digests himself, who loves and hates the same thing at the same time, etc. Spinoza constantly makes use of the word "God," and Bayle takes him according to his own expressions.

But at the bottom, Spinoza does not acknowledge any God; he has probably made use of this expression, he has said that we should serve and love God, only that he might not startle mankind. He appears to be an atheist, according to the full extent of the epithet; he is not such an atheist as Epicurus, who acknowledged useless and lazy gods; he is not like

the greater part of the Greeks and Romans, who ridiculed the gods of the vulgar; he is such, because he acknowledges no Providence whatever, because he admits only of eternity, immensity, and the necessity of things; like Stratonius, like Diagoras; he does not doubt, like Pyrrho; he affirms, and what does he affirm? That there is only a single substance, that there cannot be two, that this substance is extended and pendent, and this is what none of the Greek or Asiatic philosophers ever said, as they admitted of a universal soul.

He nowhere mentions in his book specified designs, which are manifested in all beings. He does not examine whether eyes were made to see, ears to hear, feet to walk, or wings to fly; he neither considers the laws of motion in animals and plants, nor their structure adapted to those laws, any more than the depth of mathematics, which governs the course of the stars; he is afraid to perceive that everything which exists attests a divine Providence; he does not rise from effects to their cause, but immediately placing himself at the head of the origin of things, he builds his romance in the same manner as Descartes constructed his—upon a supposition. He supposes, with Descartes, a plenum, though it has been strictly demonstrated that all motion is impossible in a plenum. This was his principal reason for looking upon the universe as one single substance. He was the dupe of his geometrical genius. How came it that Spinoza, who could not doubt that spirit and matter existed, did not at least examine whether Providence had not arranged everything? How

came it that he did not give a single glance toward those springs, those means, each of which has its design, and that he did not inquire whether they evinced a supreme artist? He must have been either a very ignorant physician, or a sophist swelled up with a very stupid kind of pride, not to acknowledge a Providence every time he breathed and felt his heart beat; for this respiration and this motion of the heart are the effects of a machine so industriously complicated, and arranged with such powerful art, depending upon so many springs, all concurring to the same end, that it is impossible to be imitated, and impossible for a man of good sense not to admire it.

The modern Spinozists reply: "Do not terrify yourselves at these consequences, which you impute to us; we find, as you do, a succession of admirable effects in the organized bodies, and in all nature. The eternal cause is in the eternal intelligence which we admit, and which, with matter, constitutes the universality of things, which is God. There is but one single substance, which acts by the same modality of its thought upon the modality of matter, and which thus constitutes the universe, which forms but one whole inseparable thing."

To this we answer: "How can you prove to us that the thought which gives motion to the stars, which animates man, which does everything, can be a modality, and that the excrements of a toad and a worm should be a modality of the same sovereign Being? Will you dare to say that so strange a principle is demonstrated to you? Do you not cloak

your ignorance beneath words that you do not understand? Bayle has thoroughly unfolded the sophisms of your master in all the windings and all the obscurities of the style of a pretended and really much confused geometrician, which is that of this master. I refer you to him; philosophers should not exclaim against Bayle."

Be this as it may, I shall observe of Spinoza, that he very honestly deceived himself. It seems to me he did not suppress in his system those ideas which might be troublesome to him, only because he was too full of his own; he went on in his own road, without observing anything that might interrupt him, and this is what very often happens to us. Moreover, he inverted all the principles of morality, though he was himself a rigid moralist; so particularly sober that he scarcely drank a pint of wine in a month; so disinterested as to transfer to the heirs of the unfortunate John de Witt a pension of two hundred florins, which this great man had granted him; so generous as to give away his fortune; ever patient in his illness and in his poverty; ever consistent in his conduct.

Bayle, who has so ill treated him, had nearly the same character. Each of them sought after truth all their lives by different roads. Spinoza frames a specious system in some respects, and very erroneous in the foundation. Bayle has combated all systems; what became of their writings? They have prevented the idleness of some readers, and this is the full scope of all writing; and from Thales down to the professors of our universities, and the

most chimerical reasoners, as well as their plagiarists, no one philosopher has influenced the manner of the very street he lived in. What is the reason? Because men are led by custom, not by metaphysics.

XXV.—ABSURDITIES.

There are many voyages made in unknown countries productive of no advantage. I am in the situation of a man, who, having wandered upon the ocean, and perceiving the Maldive Islands, with which the Indian Ocean is interspersed, is desirous of visiting them all. My long voyage has been of no avail to me; let me see if I can reap any benefit by my observations upon these little islands, which seem only to interrupt the passage.

In a hundred courses of philosophy things are explained to me of which nobody can frame the least idea. By this I am taught to comprehend the Trinity physically; it says that it resembles three dimensions of matter. Go on, and so will I. That pretends to communicate to me transubstantiation by the touch, by showing me, according to the laws of motion, how an accident may exist without a subject, and how one single body may be in two places at the same time. I shut my ears and retire with still greater precipitation.

Pascal, Blaise Pascal himself, the author of "The Provincial Letters," utters these words: "Do you believe that it is impossible that God may be infinite and without parts? I will then show you a thing indivisible and infinite; this is a point moving

everywhere with infinite swiftness, for it is in every place, and everywhere, quite entire."

A mathematical point that moves of itself. Just heaven! a point that exists nowhere but in the head of a geometrician, which is everywhere at the same time, of infinite swiftness, as if actual infinite swiftness could exist! Every word is frenzy, and he was a great man that uttered these frenzies!

"Your soul," says another, "is simple, incorporeal, intangible; and, as nobody can touch, I shall prove, according to the physics of Albert the Great, that it will be physically burned if you be not of my opinion; this is the way I prove it to you *a priori,* in strengthening Albert with the syllogisms of Abeli.

I say to him that I do not understand his *priori;* that I think his compliment is very harsh; that revelation, with which we have nothing to do, can alone teach me a thing so incomprehensible; that I allow him to differ from me in opinion, without threatening him; and I get a good distance from him for fear of an accident, for he seems to me to be a dangerous man.

A multitude of sophists of all countries overwhelm me with unintelligible arguments upon the nature of things; upon my own, upon my past, present and future state. If one talks to them of eating and clothing, lodging, the necessaries of life, money by which they are procured, they are perfectly conversant with these things; are there a few pistoles to be got, each of them is eager to obtain them, and they do not make a mistake of a farthing; but when

the question is concerning our being, they have not one clear idea about it. Common sense deserts them. From here I return to my first conclusion (No. IV.), that what cannot be of universal use, what is not within the reach of common men, what is not understood by those who have most exercised their faculty of thinking, is not necessary to mankind.

XXVI.—OF THE BEST OF WORLDS.

In my various peregrinations in search of instruction, I met with some disciples of Plato. "Come along with me," said one of them; "you are in the best of worlds; we have far surpassed our master. There were in his time only five possible worlds, because there are but five regular bodies; but now there are an infinity of possible universes; God has chosen the best; come, and you will be satisfied with it."

I humbly said that the worlds which God might create were either better, perfectly equal, or inferior. He could not choose the worst. Those which were equal, supposing such to be, could have no preference; they were ever completely the same; there could have been no choice among them; to fix upon on or the other was just the same. It was therefore impossible that he could avoid choosing the best. But how could the others be possible, when it is impossible they can exist?

He made some very curious distinctions, incessantly assuring me, without knowing what he said, that this world is the best of all really possible

worlds. But being just then tortured with the stone, which gave me an almost insupportable pain, the citizens of the best of worlds conducted me to the neighboring hospital. On the way two of these perfectly happy inhabitants were carried off by two creatures of their own likeness. They were loaded with irons, the one for debt, the other upon mere suspicion.

I know not whether I was conducted into one of the best possible hospitals; but I was crowded among two or three thousand wretches like myself. Here were many defenders of their country, who informed me that they had been trepanned and dissected alive; that they had had arms and legs cut off; and that many thousands of their generous fellow-countrymen had been massacred in one of the thirty battles fought in the last war, which is about the hundred millionth war since we have been acquainted with wars.

One might also meet in this house about a thousand persons of both sexes, who resembled hideous spectres, and who were rubbed with a certain metal, because they had followed the law of nature, and nature had, I know not how, taken the precaution of poisoning in them the source of life. I thanked my two conductors.

After a very sharp iron had been thrust into my bladder, and some stones were extracted from this quarry—when I was cured, and I had no further complaints than a few disagreeable pains for the rest of my days—I made my representations to my guides.

I took the liberty of telling them there was some good in this world, as the surgeons had extracted four flints from my torn entrails; but that I would much rather that bladders had been lanterns than quarries. I spoke to them of the innumerable calamities and crimes that were dispersed over this excellent world.

The boldest of the two, who was a German and my countryman, told me that all this was a mere trifle.

Heaven was peculiarly propitious to man when Tarquin violated Lucretia and she stabbed herself, because the tyrants were thereupon driven out, and rapes, suicides, and war laid the foundation of a republic which conferred happiness upon those they vanquished.

I had some difficulty in agreeing with this happiness. I did not immediately conceive the felicity of the Gauls and Spaniards, of whom it is said Cæsar put three millions to the sword.

Devastation and rapine appeared to me things somewhat disagreeable, but the defender of optimism did not quit his hold; he persevered in telling me, like Don Carlos' jailer: "Peace, peace, it is for your good."

Having, however, at length run him pretty hard, he said that we should not consider this mere globule, where everything is jarring; but that in the star Sirius, in Orion, the Ox's-Eye, and elsewhere, everything is perfect.

"Let us, then, go thither," said I.

A little theologist then took me by the arm. He

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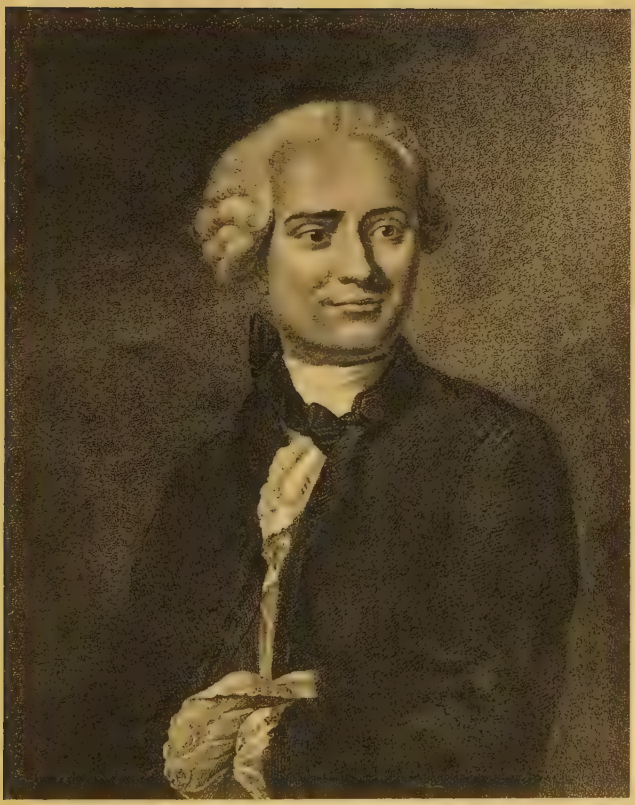

told me, in confidence, that "those folks were very dreamers; that it was not in the least necessary that there should be any evil upon earth; that it was expressly formed that there never should be anything but good; and in order to prove this, you must know that things formerly went on in this manner in Eden for ten or twelve days."

"Alas!" I replied to him, "it is a great pity, reverend father, that things did not continue so."

XXVII.—MONADS.

The same German then laid hold of me again. He tutored me, and clearly taught me the nature of my soul.

"Everything in nature," said he, "consists of monads. Your soul is a monad, and as it is united with all the others, it necessarily has ideas of all that passes in them. These ideas are confused, which is very necessary; and your monad, as well as mine, is a concentric mirror of the universe.

"But believe not that you act in consequence of your thoughts. There is a pre-established harmony between the monad of your soul and the monads of your body, so that when your soul has an idea, your body has a motion, without the one being the result of the other. They are two pendulums that go together; or, if you will, the one resembles a man who preaches, while another makes gesticulations. You easily conceive that this must necessarily be so in the best of worlds; for——"

XXVIII.—PLASTIC FORMS.

As I had no comprehension of these admirable ideas, an Englishman, named Cudworth, discovered my ignorance and my embarrassment, by my fixed eyes and downcast look.

"These ideas," he said, "appear deep to you, because they are well sifted. I will give you a concise notion of the manner in which nature acts. First, there is nature in general; then there are plastic natures, which form all animals and all plants. You understand me?"

"Not a word, sir."

"Let us go on, then."

"A plastic nature is not a corporeal faculty; it is an immaterial substance, which acts without knowing what it does, being entirely blind and insensible to reason and to vegetation. But the tulip has its plastic form, which makes it vegetate; the dog has also its plastic form, which makes it pursue the chase, and man has his, which makes him reason. These forms are immediate agents of the divinity. There are no ministers in the world more faithful; for they yield everything, and keep nothing for themselves.

"You see very well that these are the true principles of things, and that plastic natures are at least equal to pre-established harmony and monads, which are the concentric mirrors of the universe."

I acknowledged to him that the one was as good as the other.

XXIX.—LOCKE.

After so many unfortunate excursions, fatigued, harassed, ashamed of having sought after so many truths, and found so many chimeras, I returned to Locke, like the prodigal son who returned to his father. I threw myself into the arms of a modest man, who never pretends to know what he is really ignorant of; who, in fact, is not possessed of immense riches, but whose security is always good, and who enjoys the most permanent health without ostentation.

He confirms me in the opinion I always entertained:

That nothing obtains a place in our understanding but through our senses.

That there are no innate ideas.

That we can neither have the ideas of infinite space nor infinite number.

That I do not always think, and consequently that thought is not the essence, but the action, of my understanding.

That I am free when I can do what I please.

That this liberty does not consist in my will, since when I remain voluntarily in my chamber, the door of which is locked, without my having the key, I am not at liberty to go out; as I suffer when I am not willing to suffer; as I frequently cannot recall my ideas when I am disposed to recall them.

It is, therefore, absurd to say that the will is free, as it is absurd to say "I will such a thing"; for this is precisely as if one were to say: "I desire to

desire it, I fear to fear it." In a word, the will is no more free than it is blue or square. (See Article XIII.)

That I can only form a will in consequence of ideas received in my brain; that I am necessitated to determine in consequence of those ideas, as I should otherwise determine without reason, which would be an effect without a cause.

That I cannot have a positive idea of infinity, as I am absolutely finite.

That I cannot know any substance, as I can have no ideas but of their qualities, and that a thousand qualities of a thing cannot communicate the intimate nature of this thing, which may possess a hundred thousand other qualities that I am unacquainted with.

That I am no longer the same person after I have lost my memory: for not having the smallest part of my body which belonged to me in my infancy, and not having the least remembrance of the ideas that affected me at that age, it is clear that I am no longer that same child any more than I am Confucius or Zoroaster.

I am reputed the same person by those who have observed me grow, and who have always resided with me; but I have in no respect the same existence; I am no longer my former self; I am a new identity; and what singular consequences must hence arise!

1. That, in fine, agreeable to my profound ignorance, of which I am convinced, according to the principles of things, it is impossible that I can know

what are the substances to which God deigns to grant the gifts of feeling and thinking. In fact, are there any substances the essence of which is to think, that always think, and which think by themselves? In this case these substances, whatever they be, are gods; for they have no occasion for the Eternal Being and Creator, as they possess their essences without him—as they think without him.

2. If the Eternal Being has communicated the gifts of feeling and thinking to these beings, he has given them what did not essentially belong to them; he could therefore have given this faculty to all beings whatever.

3. We are unacquainted with the inward recesses of any being; wherefore it is impossible for us to know whether a being is susceptible or insusceptible of sensation and thought.

The words "matter" and "spirit" are mere words. We have no complete idea of these two things. Wherefore, in fact, it would be as bold to say that a body organized by God himself cannot receive thought from God himself, as it would be ridiculous to urge that spirit could not think.

4. I imagine there are substances purely spiritual, which never had any idea of matter and motion; would it be thought proper for them to deny that matter and motion may exist?

I suppose that the learned congregation who condemned Galileo for impiety and absurdity—for having demonstrated the motion of the earth round the sun—had obtained some knowledge of the ideas of Chancellor Bacon, who proposed to examine

whether attraction be given to matter. I suppose that he who made the report of this great tribunal remonstrated to these great personages, that there were people mad enough to suspect that God could communicate to all matter from Saturn down to our little lump of earth, a tendency toward a centre—attraction, gravitation—which would be absolutely independent of all impulse; as impulse acts upon surfaces, and this gravitation actuates solids.

Do you not find these judges of human reason, and of God himself, immediately dictate their sentences, anathematize this gravitation—which Newton has since demonstrated—pronounce it impossible for God to perform, and that gravitation towards a centre is blasphemy?

I am, methinks, guilty of the same temerity, when I dare aver that God cannot make any organized being whatever feel and think.

5. I cannot doubt that God has granted sensations of the memory, and consequently ideas, to the organized matter in animals. Wherefore, then, should I deny that he may make the same present to other animals? It has already been observed that the difficulty consists less in knowing whether organized matter can think, than in knowing how any being whatever can think.

Thought is something divine; yes, doubtless, and therefore I never shall know what a thinking being is. The principal motion is divine; I shall never know the cause of this motion, the laws whereof all my members execute.

Aristotle's child being at nurse, attracted into his

mouth the nipple which he sucked, forming with his tongue, which he drew in, a pneumatic machine, pumping the air, and causing a vacuum: while his father, quite ignorant of this, said at random, that "nature abhors a vacuum."

The child of Hippocrates, at four years of age, proved the circulation of the blood by passing his finger over his hand; and Hippocrates did not know that the blood circulated.

We are all, great as we may be, like those children; we perform admirable things, and there is not a single philosopher who knows how they are done.

6. These are the reasons, or rather the doubts, produced by my intellectual faculty upon Locke's modest assertion. Once more, I do not say that it is matter which thinks within us. I say with Locke, that it does not belong to us to assert that it should be impossible for God to make matter think; that it is absurd to declare it; and that it is not for worms of the earth to limit the power of the Supreme Being.

7. I add that this question is absolutely foreign to morality: because whether matter can, or cannot think, whoever thinks must be just; because the atom to which God shall have given thought may be worthy or unworthy, be punished or recompensed, and exist eternally, as well as the unknown being formerly called "breath" and at present "spirit," of which we have a less idea than even an atom.

I know very well that those who thought the being called "breath" could alone be susceptible of

feeling and thinking have persecuted those who have followed the sagacious Locke, and who have not dared to limit the power of God to animating only this breath. But when the whole universe believed that the soul was a light body, a breath, a substance of fire, would it have been just to persecute those who came to teach us that the soul is immaterial?

Would all the Fathers of the Church who thought the soul an extended body have done right to persecute the other fathers who communicated to man the idea of perfect immateriality?

No, doubtless; because a persecutor is an abominable character. Wherefore those who allow of perfect immateriality, without comprehending it, should have tolerated those who rejected it, because they did not comprehend it.

Those who have refused God the power of animating the unknown being called matter, should also have tolerated those who have not dared to divest God of His power; for it is very scandalous to hate one another for syllogisms.

XXX.—WHAT HAVE I THUS FAR LEARNED?

I have then reckoned with Locke and with myself, and I find myself possessed of four or five truths, abstracted from a hundred errors, and loaded with an immense quantity of doubts. I said to myself afterward: "These few truths, which I have acquired by my reason, will be but barren land in my hands if I can find no principle of morality in them. It is very fit for such an insignificant animal as man to raise himself up to the knowledge of the

master of nature. But this will be of no more service to me than the science of algebra, if I do not derive from it some rule for the conduct of my life."

XXXI.—IS THERE ANY MORALITY?

The more I have observed men differ by climate, manners, languages, laws, doctrine, and the measure of their understanding, the more I have observed they have the same fund of morality. They have all a barbarous nation of justice and injustice, without knowing a word of theology. They have all acquired this notion at an age when reason begins to unfold itself; as they have naturally acquired the art of raising burdens with poles, and passing a rivulet upon a piece of wood, without having learned mathematics.

It therefore appeared to me that this idea of justice and injustice was necessary for them, because they all agreed in this point, as soon as they could act and reason.

The Supreme Intelligence which formed us has, then, been pleased that there should be justice upon earth, that we might live there for a certain time.

It appears to me that, having neither instinct to nourish ourselves like animals nor natural arms like them, and vegetating for several years in the imbecility of infancy, exposed to every danger, the few men that would have escaped from the jaws of ferocious animals, from famine and misery, would have been employed in wrangling for a little nourishment and a few skins of animals; and they would have been destroyed like the children of the dragon of

Cadmus, as soon as they would have been able to have used any arms.

At least, there would have been no society, if men had not conceived the idea of some justice, which is the tie of all society.

How would the Egyptians, who raised pyramids and obelisks, and the wandering Scythians, who were even unacquainted with a cabin, have had the same fundamental notions of justice and injustice, if God had not given to each of them, from the beginning of time, that reason which, in unfolding itself, made them perceive the same necessary principles, in the same manner as he gave them affections and passions, which, having attained the degree of their development, necessarily perpetuate in the same manner the race of the Scythian and the Egyptian?

I perceive a barbarous, ignorant, superstitious herd, a bloody and a furious people, who had not even a term in their jargon to signify geometry and astronomy. This people has, nevertheless, the same fundamental laws as the wise Chaldæan, who was acquainted with the course of the stars, and the Phœnician, still more learned, who availed himself of the knowledge of the stars to go and lay the foundation of colonies at the extremity of the hemisphere, where the ocean mingles with the Mediterranean. All these people aver that they should respect their fathers and mothers; that perjury, calumny, and homicide are abominable crimes; they therefore derive the same consequences from the same principles of their unfolded reason.

XXXII.—REAL UTILITY—THE NOTION OF JUSTICE.

The notion of something just appears to me so natural, so universally received by all men, that it is independent of all law, of all compact, of all religion.

Let me ask a Turk, a Gueber, or a Malabarian, for the money I lent him, to enable him to eat and clothe himself, and he will never think of replying: "Wait till I learn if Mahomet, Zoroaster, or Brahma commands me to restore your money."

He will acknowledge that it is just that he should pay me, and if he does not perform it, either his poverty or his avarice predominates over the justice which he acknowledges.

I assert it as a fact, that there are no people who maintain that it is either just, right, proper, or honest, to refuse nourishment to one's father or mother, when it is practicable to bestow it; that no community has ever considered calumny as a good action, not even a sect of bigoted fanatics.

The idea of justice appears to me so much a truth of the first order, to which the whole universe has given its assent, that the greatest crimes which afflict society are all committed under the false pretence of justice. The greatest of all crimes, at least that which is the most destructive, and consequently the most opposite to the design of nature, is war; but there never was an aggressor who did not gloss over his guilt with the pretext of justice.

The Roman depredators had all their invasions declared just, by priests named "Fecials."

Every freebooter, who finds himself at the head of an army, begins his foray by a manifesto, and implores the god of armies.

Petty thieves themselves, when united in a society, take care not to say: "Let us go and rob, let us go and despoil the widow and the orphan of their scanty pittance," but they say, "let us be just, let us recover our fortune from the hands of the rich, who have deprived us of it."

They have even a dictionary among them, which has been printed since the sixteenth century, and in this vocabulary, which they call "Argot," the words "theft," "robbery," "rapine," are not to be met with. They make use of terms which correspond with "gaining," "reimbursing," etc.

The word "injustice" is never uttered in a council of state, where the most unjust murder is proposed. Even the most bloody conspirators have never said: "Let us commit a crime." They have ever said: "Avenge our country for the crimes of a tyrant; let us punish what appears to us unjust."

In a word, servile flatterers, barbarous ministers, odious conspirators, the most infamous robbers, all pay homage against their will, to that virtue they trample upon.

I have been greatly astonished that among the French, who are enlightened and polished, maxims have been repeated upon the stage which are equally as shocking as false.

La justice et le droit font des vaines idées,
Le droit des rois consiste à rien épargner.

"Justice and right are vain ideas, the right of kings consists in sparing nothing."

And this abominable speech is put in the mouth of Phocian, minister to young Ptolemy. But it is precisely because he is a minister that he should say the contrary; he should represent the death of Pompey as a necessary and just misfortune.

I believe, then, that the ideas, just and unjust, are as clear and universal as the ideas of health and sickness, truth and falsehood, convenience and inconvenience.

The limits of justice and injustice are very difficult to fix; as the middle state between health and disease, between the convenience and inconvenience of things, between falsehood and truth, is difficult to specify. They are shades that are interwoven; but glaring colors strike every eye.

For example, all men agree that we should restore what we have borrowed; but if I know that the person to whom I am indebted two millions will make use of it to enslave my country, should I put such fatal arms into his hands? Here are sentiments that are divided; but in general I should observe my oath when no evil results from it. This is what no one ever doubted.

XXXIII.—IS UNIVERSAL CONSENT A PROOF OF TRUTH?

It may be objected that the consent of men at all times, and in all countries, is not a proof of truth. All people believed in the Magi, in sorcery, demons, apparitions, planetary influence, and a hundred other

such like follies. Might it not be the same with respect to justice and injustice?

It appears to me not. First, it is false that all men believed these chimeras. They were, in fact, aliment to the weakness of the vulgar; but a great number of sages constantly ridiculed them. These numerous wise men, on the contrary, always admitted of justice and injustice, as much and even more than the people.

The belief in sorcerers, demons, etc., is far from being necessary to mankind; the belief in justice is absolutely necessary, because it is an unfolding of that reason given by God; and the idea of sorcerers, people possessed, etc., is, on the contrary, a perversion of this same reason.

XXXIV.—AGAINST LOCKE.

Locke, who instructs and teaches me to mistrust myself, does he not sometimes impose upon himself like many others? He wants to prove the falsity of innate ideas; but does he not add a very bad reason to several good ones? He acknowledges it is not just to boil one's neighbor in a cauldron and eat him. He nevertheless says there have been nations of Anthropophagi; and that these thinking beings would not have eaten men, if they had possessed the ideas of justice and injustice, which I suppose is necessary for the preservation of the human species. (See No. XXXVI.)

Without entering into a disquisition as to whether there were, in fact, any nations of Anthropophagi; without examining the relations of the traveller

Dampier, who traversed all America, and who never saw any, but who, on the contrary, was received among all the savages with the greatest humanity: I reply as follows:

Conquerors have eaten their slaves taken in war. They imagined they did a very just action. They imagined they had a right over their life and death; and, as they had but few good meats for their table, they thought they were allowed to feed upon the fruit of their victory.

They were in this more just than the Romans, who, without reaping any advantages, strangled the captive princes that were chained to their triumphal cars.

The Romans and the savages had a very false idea of justice, I allow; but they, however, both thought they acted justly. And this is so true that the same savages, when they had admitted these captives into their society, looked upon them as their children; and the same ancient Romans have given a thousand examples of admirable justice.

XXXV.—AGAINST LOCKE.

I agree with the sagacious Locke, that there is no innate idea—no innate principle of practice. This is such an incontrovertible truth, that it is evident that all children would have a clear notion of God if they were born with this idea, and all men would then agree with this same notion—an agreement that has never been known.

It is also evident that we are not born with innate principles of morality, as we do not see how a whole

nation could reject a principle of morality which had been engraved on the heart of every individual of that nation.

I suppose that we are all born with the moral principle well understood, that no person should be persecuted for his manner of thinking. How could whole communities become persecutors? I suppose that every man carries within himself that evident law whereby he is commanded to be faithful to his oath. How could all men, united in a body, have enacted that no faith should be kept with heretics?

I repeat again, that instead of these chimerical innate ideas, God has given us reason, which is strengthened with age, and which teaches us all, when we are attentive without prejudice, that there is a God, and that we should be just. But I cannot grant Locke the consequences he draws therefrom. He seems to approach too near Hobbes's system, though, in fact, he is very distant from it.

These are his words in the first book of his "Essay upon the Human Understanding":

"View but an army at the sacking of a town, and see what sense of moral principles or what touch of conscience they exhibit for all the outrages they do."

No; they have no remorse, and why? Because they believe they act justly.

Not one among them imagines the cause of the prince for whom they are fighting to be unjust. They risk their life for their cause—they fulfil the bargain they have made. They might have been

killed in the assault, they therefore think they have a right to kill; they might have been plundered, they therefore think they may plunder.

Add to this, that they are intoxicated with fury, which does not reason. And to convince you that they have not divested themselves of the idea of justice and honesty, propose to these same soldiers much more money than the plunder of the city, handsomer women than those they have violated, upon condition only that instead of murdering in their rage three or four thousand enemies, who still make resistance, and who may kill them, they go and cut the throats of their king, his chancellor, his secretaries of state, and his high almoner, you will not find a single soldier who does not reject your proposal with horror; and yet you propose but six murders, instead of four thousand, and you present them with a very valuable recompense.

Why do they refuse you? Because they think it is just to kill four thousand enemies; but the murder of their sovereign, to whom they are bound by a solemn oath, appears to them abominable.

Locke continues his argument, and to prove the better that no rule of conduct is innate, he speaks of the Mingrelians, who out of sport, he says, bury their children alive; and of the Caribbees, who fatten them, in order to eat them.

It has already been observed that this great man was too credulous in relating these fables. Lambert, who alone imputes to the Mingrelians the interment of their children alive, through wantonness, is not an author of sufficient credit to be quoted.

Chardin, who passes for a traveller of veracity, and who was ransomed in Mingrelia, would have spoken of this horrible custom if it had existed; and his affirming it would not have been sufficient to give it credit. Twenty travellers of different nations and religions should agree to confirm such a strange custom, in order to obtain a historical certainty of it.

It is the same with the women of the Antilles Islands, who raised their children to eat them. This is not in the nature of a mother. The human heart is not thus framed.

Among the wealthy and the great, who were perverted by the excesses of luxury and jealousy, the refinement was practised of having eunuchs to wait upon and guard their wives and concubines. Eunuchs were also in demand in Italy, and were employed at the pope's chapel, in order to have voices finer than those of women.

Locke's assertions regarding the saints of the Mahometan religion and their useful quadrupeds, should be placed with Prince Maurice's story of the parrot, who kept up such a fine conversation in the Brazilian language, which Locke is simple enough to relate, without considering that the prince's interpreter may have related a joke to him.

In this manner the author of the "Spirit of Laws" amuses himself in quoting the imaginary laws of Tonquin, Bantam, Borneo, and Formosa, upon the report of some travellers, or romancers, or persons misinformed.

Locke and Montesquieu are two great men, in whom such simplicity appears to me inexcusable.

XXXVI.—NATURE EVERYWHERE THE SAME.

In giving up Locke at this point, I say with the great Newton: *"Natura est semper sibi consona"*—"Nature everywhere resembles herself." The law of gravitation, which acts upon a star, acts upon all stars, upon all matter. Thus the fundamental law of morality equally acts upon all civilized nations. There are a thousand differences in the interpretation of this law in a thousand circumstances; but the basis ever remains the same, and this basis is the idea of justice and injustice. Innumerable acts of injustice are committed in the fury of passion, as reason is lost in drunkenness; but when the intoxication is over, reason returns; and this, in my opinion, is the only cause of human society subsisting—a cause subordinate to the wants of each other's assistance.

How then have we acquired the idea of justice? As we acquired that of prudence, of truth, of convenience—by sentiment and reason. It is impossible for us to avoid thinking it a very imprudent action for a man to throw himself into the fire, in order to be admired, and who should hope afterward to escape injury. It is impossible for us to avoid thinking a man very unjust for killing another in his passion. Society is founded entirely upon these notions, which can never be torn from the heart, and it is for this reason that all society subsists, whatever extravagant and horrible superstition it may be subject to.

At what age are we acquainted with what is just and unjust? At the age when we know that two and two make four.

XXXVII.—HOBBES.

Thou profound and extravagant philosopher, thou good citizen, thou enemy of Descartes, who deceivedst thyself like him, thou whose physical errors are great but pardonable, because thou camest before Newton, thou who hast told truths that do not obliterate thy mistakes, thou who didst first display the chimeras of innate ideas, thou who wert the forerunner of Locke in many things, as well as of Spinoza, in vain dost thou astonish thy readers by almost succeeding to prove to them that there are no laws in the world but the laws of conventions; that there is no justice or injustice but what has been agreed upon as such in a country.

If thou hadst been alone with Cromwell in a desert island, and Cromwell would have killed thee for having been a partisan of thy king in the island of England, would not such an attempt appear to thee as unjust in thy new island as in thine own country?

Thou sayest in thy "Law of Nature": "Every one having a right to all things, each has a right over the life of his own likenesses."

Dost thou not confound power with right? Dost thou think that, in fact, power conveys right? and that a robust son has nothing to reproach himself with for having assassinated his old and decrepit father?

Whoever studies morality should begin by re-

futing thy book in his heart; but thine own heart refuted it still more; for thou wert virtuous as well as Spinoza; and thou wert only wanting, like him, in teaching the principles of virtue, which thou didst practise and recommend to others.

XXXVIII.—UNIVERSAL MORALITY.

Morality appears to me so universal, so calculated by the universal Being that formed us, so destined to serve as a counterpoise to our fatal passions, and to solace the inevitable troubles of this short life, that from Zoroaster down to Lord Shaftesbury, I find all philosophers teaching the same morality, though they have all different ideas upon the principles of things.

We find that Hobbes, Spinoza, and Bayle himself, who either denied the first principles, or at least doubted of them, have, nevertheless, strongly recommended justice, and all the virtues.

Every nation had peculiar religious rites, and very often absurd and revolting opinions in metaphysics and theology. But the point in question is to know whether we should be just. In this the whole universe agrees, as we said in No. XXXVI., and this statement cannot be too often repeated.

XXXIX.—ZOROASTER.

I shall not examine at what time Zoroaster lived. The Persians say that he existed nine thousand years before them, as well as Plato and the ancient Athenians.

I find that his moral precepts, which were trans-

lated from the ancient language of the Magi into the vulgar language of the Guebers, have been preserved till the present time; and it evidently appears, from the puerile allegories, the ridiculous observations, the fantastic ideas with which this collection is filled, that the religion of Zoroaster is of the highest antiquity.

The word "garden" is there used to express the recompense of the just; we there meet with the evil principle under the word "Satan," which the Jews also adopted. We there find the world formed in six times or seasons. It is there commanded to recite an *abunavar* and an *ashim vuhu,* for those who sneeze.

But, in fine, in this collection of a hundred subjects or precepts taken from the Zend-Avesta, and in which the very words of the ancient Zoroaster are repeated, what moral duties are prescribed?

That of loving and succoring one's father and mother, that of giving alms to the poor, that of never breaking one's word, that of abstaining when doubtful whether the action to be performed is just or not. (Subject XXX.)

I shall confine myself to this precept, because no legislator could ever go beyond it; and I am confirmed in the opinion that, though Zoroaster established ridiculous superstitions in matters of doctrine, the purity of his morals proves that he was not corrupt, and that the more he gave way to errors in his dogmas, the more impossible was it for him to err in teaching virtue.

XL.—THE BRAHMINS.

It is probable that the Brahmins existed long before the Chinese had their five kings; and what gives rise to this great probability is, that in China the antiquities most sought after are Indian, and that in India there are no Chinese antiquities.

Those ancient Brahmins were doubtless as bad metaphysicians and ridiculous theologists as the Chaldæans and Persians, and all the nations that are to the east of China. But what a sublime morality! According to them, life was only a death of some years, after which they were to live with the Divinity. They did not confine themselves to being just toward others, but they were rigorous toward themselves. Silence, abstinence, contemplation, the renouncing of all pleasures, were their principal duties. Likewise, from the sages of other nations, they were to learn what was called Wisdom.

XLI.—CONFUCIUS.

The Chinese could not reproach themselves with any superstition, any quackery, like other nations. The Chinese government displayed to men, more than four thousand years ago, and still displays to them, that they may be ruled without being cheated; that the God of truth is not served by falsehood; that superstition is not only useless, but destructive to religion.

Never was the adoration of God so pure and holy as in China, about the time of the Revelation.

I do not speak of the sects of the people; I speak

of the religion of the prince, of that of the tribunals, and above all of the populace.

What has been the religion of all men of sense in China for many ages? It was this: "Adore heaven and be just." No emperor ever had any other.

The great Confutse, whom we call Confucius, is often placed among the ancient legislators—among the founders of religion; but this is a great mistake. Confucius is very modern; he lived only six hundred and fifty years before our era. He never instituted any doctrine, any rite. He neither called himself inspired or a prophet; he only united in one body the ancient laws of morality.

He invites men to forgive injuries, and to remember nothing but good deeds; to incessantly watch over themselves, and to correct to-day the faults of yesterday; to suppress the passions, and to cultivate friendship; to give without ostentation, and not to receive but in extreme necessity, without meanness.

He does not say that we "should not do unto others, what we would not they should do unto us." This is only forbidding evil. He does more—he recommends good. "Treat others as thou wouldst thyself be treated."

He does not only teach modesty, but even humility. He recommends all the virtues.

XLII.—THE GRECIAN PHILOSOPHERS AND FIRST OF PYTHAGORAS.

All the Greek philosophers have talked nonsense in physics and metaphysics. They are all excellent

in morality; they are all equal to Zoroaster, Confucius, and the Brahmins. Read only the golden verses of Pythagoras; they are the essence of his doctrine. It is immaterial from what hand they came. Tell me only if a single virtue is omitted.

XLIII.—ZALEUCUS.

Unite the commonplace arguments of all the Greek, Italian, Spanish, German, French, and other preachers; extract the essence of all their declamations, and see whether it will be purer than the exordium of the laws of Zaleucus?

"Gain the dominion over your own soul, purify it, drive away all criminal thoughts; believe that God cannot be well served by the perverse; believe that He does not resemble those weak mortals who are seduced by praises and presents. Virtue alone can please Him."

This is the substance of all morality and all religion.

XLIV.—EPICURUS.

College pedants and seminary fops have believed, from some pleasant strokes of Horace and Petronius, that Epicurus had taught voluptuousness by precept and example. Epicurus was, during his life, a wise, temperate, and just philosopher. He showed his wisdom at twelve or thirteen years of age; for when the grammarian who instructed him, recited this verse of Hesiod:

Chaos was produced the first of all beings.

"Aye," said Epicurus, "who produced it, since it was the first?"

"I cannot tell," said the grammarian; "none but philosophers know."

"I will apply to them for instruction," said the child; and from that time till the age of seventy-two he cultivated philosophy.

His will, which Diogenes Laertius has preserved to us entire, displays a tranquil and just soul.

He gave such slaves liberty as he thought deserved such favor. He recommends his testamentary executors to give those their liberty who are worthy of it.

Here is no ostentation, no unjust preference. It is the last will of a man who never had any but what was reasonable.

Different from most philosophers, all his disciples were his friends, and his sect was the only one which taught to love, and which did not divide itself into various others.

It appears, after having examined his doctrine and what has been written for and against him, that it is all confined to the dispute between Malebranche and Arnaud. Malebranche acknowledged that pleasure made us happy, while Arnaud denied it.

This was an altercation upon words, like many other disputes wherein philosophy and theology assist, each on their part, with their uncertainties.

XLV.—THE STOICS.

If the Epicureans rendered human nature amiable, the Stoics rendered it almost divine. Resignation to the Being of beings, or rather the elevation of the soul to that Being; contempt of life, and even

death; inflexibility in justice; such was the character of the real Stoics; and what could be said against them is that they discouraged the rest of men.

Socrates, who was not of their sect, demonstrated that virtue could not have been carried to such a height, without being of some party; and the death of this martyr to divinity is an eternal opprobrium to Athens, though she afterward repented of it.

The Stoic Cato is, on the other hand, the eternal honor of Rome. Epictetus in slavery is, perhaps, superior to Cato, inasmuch as he is contented with his misery. "I am," said he, "in that place for which Providence designed me; therefore to complain is offending Him."

Shall I say that the emperor Antoninus is still superior to Epictetus, because he triumphed over more seductions, and it was much more difficult for an emperor to avoid corruption than it was for a poor fellow not to murmur? Read the thoughts of both; the emperor and the slave will appear to you equally great.

Dare I mention here the emperor Julian? He erred with respect to his dogmas, but certainly not with respect to morality. In a word, there was no philosopher of antiquity that was not desirous of making men better.

There have been people among us who have said that all the virtues of their great men were nothing but illustrious sins. Can this earth be covered with such criminals?

XLVI.—PHILOSOPHY IS VIRTUE.

There were sophists, who were, with respect to philosophers, what men are to monkeys. Lucian ridiculed them; they were despised. They nearly resembled mendicant monks in universities. But let us never forget that philosophers have set great examples of virtue; and that the sophists, and even the monks have all respected this virtue in their writings.

XLVII.—ÆSOP.

I shall place Æsop amongst those great men, and even at the head of these great men. Whether he was the Pilpay of the Indians, the ancient forerunner of Pilpay, or the Lokman of the Persians, or the Akkim of the Arabians, or the Hacam of the Phœnicians, it matters not. I find that his fables were in vogue among all the Eastern nations, and that his origin is lost in such a depth of antiquity that the abyss cannot be fathomed.

What is the tendency of these fables, equally deep and ingenious—these apologues, which seem to have been written at a time when it was not questioned whether or not beasts had a language?

They have instructed almost our whole hemisphere. They are not collections of pompous sentences, which are more tedious than instructive—they are truth itself, in the attractive garb of fable.

This ancient wisdom is simple and naked in its primitive form. All that has been added is only embellishment in modern languages. The natural

graces which have been given in France, have not concealed the original elegance.

What is the great lesson taught by these apologues and fables? To be just!

XLVIII.—PEACE, THE OFFSPRING OF PHILOSOPHY.

As all philosophers had different dogmas, it is evident that dogma and virtue are entirely heterogeneous. Whether they believed or not that Thetis was the goddess of the sea, whether or no they were convinced of the war of the giants, and the golden age; of Pandora's box, and the death of the serpent Pytho, etc., these doctrines were in no way connected with morality. It is an admirable thing in antiquity that theogeny never disturbed the peace of nations.

XLIX.—QUESTIONS.

Oh! if we could but imitate; if we could at length do with respect to theological disputes what we have already done, at the end of seventeen hundred years, with respect to the *belles-lettres!*

We have returned to the pure taste of antiquity, in regard to literature, after being immersed in the barbarisms of our schools.

The Romans were never so absurd as to imagine that a man could be persecuted because he believed in a vacuum or a plenum; because he thought that accidents could not subsist without a subject; because he explained the words of an author in a sense differing from others.

We recur every day to the Roman jurisprudence,

and when we are in want of laws—which often happens—we consult the Code and the Pandects.

Why do we not also imitate our masters in their wise toleration?

Of what importance is it to the nation whether our opinions agree with the Reals or the Nominals; whether we join with Scotus or Thomas for Œcolampadius or for Melanchthon; whether we are of the party of a bishop of Ypres, whom we have not read, or a Spanish monk, whose writings we have still less perused? Is it not evident that all this should be as indifferent to the true state of a nation as a good or bad translation of a passage of Lycophron or Hesiod?

L.—OTHER QUESTIONS.

I know that men have disorders in their brain. We have seen a musician die mad, because his music did not appear good enough. Some folks have imagined that their noses were made of glass; but if any were so violently afflicted as to fancy, for instance, that they were always in the right, would there be hellebore enough for such a strange disorder?

And if these patients, in order to maintain that they were always in the right, should threaten with immediate death any who thought them in the wrong; if they appointed spies to discover those who were refractory; if they condemned a father upon the testimony of his son, a mother upon that of her daughter, to perish in flames, should not these people be confined, and treated like bedlamites?

LI.—IGNORANCE.

You ask me what avails all this moralizing, if man be not free? I immediately reply, I did not tell you man was not free. I told you that his liberty consisted in his power to act, and not in the chimerical power of willing to will. I shall now tell you that everything being connected in nature, Eternal Providence predestined me to pen these reveries, and predestined five or six readers to profit by them, and five or six others to contemn them, and throw them aside among that immense multitude of useless writings.

If you tell me that I have taught you nothing, remember that I set out by informing you that I was ignorant.

LII.—OTHER KINDS OF IGNORANCE.

I am so ignorant as to be unacquainted with those ancient facts with which children are rocked to sleep. I am constantly in fear of deceiving myself, perhaps seven or eight hundred years, more or less, when I inquire at what time those ancient heroes lived, who are said to have first practised robbery and freebooting through a vast extent of country, and those first sages, who adored stars, fishes, serpents, dead carcasses, or fantastic beings.

Who was he that first invented the six Gahambers, the bridge of Tshinavar, Dardaroth, and the lake of Charon? At what period did the first Bacchus, the first Hercules, and the first Orpheus exist?

All antiquity is so obscure till the time of Thucy-

dides and Xenophon, that I am almost debarred from knowing a word of what passed upon the globe which I inhabit, before the short space of about thirty centuries; and in these thirty centuries, how many obscurities, how many uncertainties, how many fables!

LIII.—GREATER IGNORANCE.

My ignorance is of far greater weight with me, when I see that neither I, nor any of my fellow countrymen, absolutely know anything about our country.

My mother has told me that I was born upon the banks of the Rhine. I am willing to believe it.

I asked my friend, the learned Apedeutes, a native of Courland, if he had any knowledge of the ancient people of the North, his neighbors, and of his unfortunate little country?

He told me he had no more knowledge concerning them than the fish in the Baltic Sea.

As for me, all I know about my country is what Cæsar said, about one thousand eight hundred years ago; that we were freebooters, who were accustomed to sacrifice men to I know not what gods, to obtain from them many victims; and that we never went hunting without taking with us some old witches, who made these fine sacrifices.

Tacitus, a century later, said a few words about us without having even seen us.

He considers us as the most honest people in the world, at least when compared with the Romans; and he avers that, as we had nobody to rob, we

passed nights and days in our cabins, getting drunk with bad beer.

From the time of our "golden age" to the time of Charlemagne, there is an immense void.

When I have come to these known times, I find in Golstad a charter of Charlemagne, dated at Aix-la-Chapelle, wherein this learned emperor thus expresses himself:

"You know that hunting one day near this city, I found the hot baths, and the palace which Granus, brother of Nero and Agrippa, had formerly built."

This Granus and this Agrippa, brothers of Nero, show me that Charlemagne was quite as ignorant as myself. This comforts me.

LIV.—RIDICULOUS IGNORANCE.

The history of the Church of my country resembles that of Granus, brother of Nero and Agrippa, and is still more marvellous. There are little boys risen from the dead; dragons taken with a mole, like rabbits with a snare; hosts, which bleed at the stroke of a knife given them by a Jew; saints that run after their heads, when decapitated.

One of the best authenticated legends, in our "German Ecclesiastical History," is that of the fortunate Peter of Luxemburg, who in the one thousand three hundred eighty-eighth and eighty-ninth years after his death, operated two thousand four hundred miracles; and the years following, three thousand clearly enumerated; among which there were, however, but forty-two dead persons brought to life.

I have made inquiry whether the other states of Europe have ecclesiastical histories equally marvellous and authentic, and have everywhere found the same wisdom and the same certainty.

LV.—WORSE THAN IGNORANCE.

I afterward discovered the cause of these unintelligible follies for which men heaped imprecations upon each other; detested each other; persecuted each other; cut the throats of each other; hung, racked and burned each other; and I said if there had been a single wise man in those abominable times, he must have lived and died in a desert.

LVI.—THE DAWN OF REASON.

I find to-day, in this age, which is the dawn of reason, some heads of that Hydra, fanaticism, again appearing, but its poison seems less mortal, and its jaws less devouring.

There has not been in recent years as much blood shed for versatile grace, as there formerly was for plenary indulgences, which were publicly sold in the open market; but the monster, fanaticism, still exists, and whoever seeks after truth will run the risk of being persecuted.

Must we, therefore, remain idle in darkness, or must we light a flambeau, at which envy and calumny will rekindle their torches?

For my part, I think that truth should no more be hidden before these monsters than that we should abstain from taking nourishment lest we should be poisoned.

AN INDIAN ADVENTURE.

TRANSLATED BY THE IGNORAMUS.

PYTHAGORAS, during his residence in India, learned, as all the world knows, at the school of the Gymnosophists, the language of beasts and that of plants. Walking one day in a field near the seashore, he heard these words:

"How unhappy am I to be born an herb! Scarcely have I attained two inches in height before a devouring monster—a horrid animal—tramples me under his feet; his jaw is armed with a row of sharp scythes, with which he cuts me, tears me, and then swallows me. Man calls this monster a sheep. I do not think there is in the whole creation a more abominable creature."

Pythagoras advanced a few steps; he met with an oyster that was yawning upon a rock. He had not yet embraced that admirable law by which we are forbidden to eat animated beings. He was going to swallow the oyster, when it uttered these mournful words: "Oh Nature, how happy is the herb, which is also thy handiwork! When it is cut it regenerates and is immortal; while we, poor oysters, in vain are we defended by a double buckler; bipeds eat us by dozens at their meals, and it is over with us forever! How barbarous is man, and what an unhappy destiny is that of an oyster!"

Pythagoras shuddered! He felt the enormity of the crime he was about to commit; and carefully replacing the oyster upon the rock, he penitently asked pardon for his careless indiscretion.

Whilst he was returning to the city, in profound meditation at this adventure, he observed some spiders that were eating flies, swallows that were eating spiders, and sparrow-hawks that were eating swallows. "None of these destroyers," said he, "are philosophers."

Pythagoras, upon entering the city, was hurled, bruised and thrown down by a crowd of beggars and bunters, who ran wildly crying, "Well done, they deserved it." "Who? what?" said Pythagoras, getting up; while the people continued running and crying: "We shall have rare fun in seeing them broil!"

Pythagoras imagined they were speaking of lentils, or some other kind of vegetable. But he was quite mistaken. They meant two poor Indians. "Oh!" said Pythagoras, "these are doubtless two great philosophers, who are tired of their lives; they are desirous of regenerating under another form. There may be a pleasure in changing one's abode, when one is badly lodged, and there is no accounting for taste."

He went on with the mob as far as the public square, where he saw a great pile of wood burning, placed opposite to a bench, which was called a tribunal. Upon this bench judges were seated, each of whom held a cow's tail in his hand, and they had caps upon their heads, which greatly resembled the two ears of that animal which formerly carried Silenus, when he came into the country with Bacchus, after having crossed the Erytrean Sea, dry-

footed, and stopped the course of the sun and moon, as is very faithfully related in "The Orphics."

There was among these judges an honest man well known to Pythagoras. The sage of India explained to the sage of Samos the nature of the festival that the Indian people were about to celebrate.

"These two Indians," said he, "are not at all desirous of being burned. My grave brethren have condemned them to that punishment, one for having said that the substance of *Yaca* is not the substance of *Brahma;* and the other for having suspected that we please the Supreme Being by virtue, without holding at the moment of death, a cow by the tail; because, happily, we may remain virtuous at all times, and because one cannot always meet with a cow just as one may have occasion for her."

The good women of the city were so terrified with two such heretical propositions, that they would not leave the judges in peace till such time as they ordered the execution of these two unfortunate men.

Pythagoras judged that from the herb up to man there were many causes of uneasiness. He, however, made the judges and even the devotees listen to reason—which never happened but on this occasion.

At Crotona, where Pythagoras afterward went, he preached toleration; but one of his adversaries set fire to his house. He was burned—the man who had saved two Indians from the flames! Let those escape who can.

A SHORT DIGRESSION.

In the beginning of the foundation of the hospital of the *Quinze Vingt,* we know that the inmates were all equal, and that their little transactions were decided by the majority of votes.

By the sense of feeling they distinguished perfectly well brass from silver coin; none of them ever took the money of Brie for that of Burgundy. Their smell was more refined than that of their neighbors who possessed two eyes.

They reasoned perfectly well upon the four senses, that is to say, they knew everything that the blind are allowed to know, and they lived as peaceably and as happily as could be expected.

Unfortunately, one of their professors pretended to have clear ideas with regard to sight. He made himself heard; he intrigued; he persuaded enthusiasts, and at length he was acknowledged as the chief of the community. He set himself up as a perfect judge of colors, and all was lost.

The first dictator of the *Quinze Vingt* formed at first a little council, with whose assistance he made himself master of all the alms. By acquiring this control nobody dared to oppose him. He declared that all the inhabitants of the *Quinze Vingt* were dressed in white. The blind believed him. They spoke of nothing but their fine white clothes, though there was not a single vestment of that color. All their neighbors laughed at them.

They went and complained to the dictator, who gave them a very cool reception. He treated them

as innovators, free-thinkers, rebels, who had been seduced by the erroneous opinions of those who had eyes, and who dared to doubt the absolute infallibility of their master. This quarrel produced two contending parties.

The dictator, to appease them, issued an arret, affirming that all their clothes were red, although there was not a single garment in the *Quinze Vingt* of that color. Fresh complaints soon arose in the community. The dictator lost all patience and became enraged. The other blind inmates were equally irritated. A battle ensued which lasted a long time, and peace was not restored until all the members of the *Quinze Vingt* were allowed to use their own judgments with respect to the color of their dress.

A deaf man reading this short history, acknowledged that these blind people were quite wrong in pretending to judge of colors; but he continued firmly of the opinion that deaf people were the only proper judges of music.

THE DAUPHIN OF FRANCE.

COMMENTARY BY THE IGNORAMUS ON MR. THOMAS' EULOGY.

I HAVE just seen in the eloquent discourse of Mr. Thomas the following remarkable words:

"The dauphin read with pleasure those books where tender humanity is depicted of all men—even of those who err—like a brotherhood. Would he

then himself have been either a persecutor, or cruel? Would he have adopted the ferocity of those who reckon mistakes among crimes, and who torture to instruct? 'Ah!' said he, more than once, 'let us not persecute.'"

These words penetrated my heart; I cried out: "What wretch dare be a persecutor, when the heir of an illustrious crown has declared none should be persecuted?"

This prince knew that persecution never produces anything but evil; he had read a great deal. Philosophy had reached him, and the greatest happiness that can befall a monarchical state is that the prince should be enlightened.

Henry IV. was not taught by books; for except Montaigne, who establishes nothing, and teaches only to doubt, there were, at that time, nothing but miserable books of controversy unworthy the perusal of a king. But Henry IV. was instructed by adversity; by the experience of public and private life; in a word, by his own genius.

Having been persecuted, he was no persecutor. In the midst of the clash of arms, the factions of the kingdom, the intrigues of the court, and the rage of two opposite sects, he was a greater philosopher than he supposed.

Louis XIII. read nothing, saw nothing, and knew nothing. He allowed persecution.

Louis XIV. possessed good sense—a thirst for glory which inspired him to action—a just discernment, a noble heart; but, unfortunately, Cardinal Mazarin did not cultivate so fine a character. He

deserved instruction, but remained ignorant; his confessors at length controlled him: he became unjust. The Sacis, the Arnauds, and so many other great men were imprisoned, exiled, banished! And for what? Because they did not think like two Jesuits of the court: and at length the kingdom was in flames for a bull! It must be acknowledged that fanaticism and knavery acquired the bull; ignorance received it, and obstinacy opposed it.

Nothing of this would have happened under a prince capable of estimating the value of efficacious indulgence, sufficient favor, and even versatile allowance.

I am not surprised that formerly Cardinal de Lorraine should persecute ill-advised people, who wanted to bring things to the primitive institution of the Church. The cardinal would have lost seven bishoprics, and many considerable abbeys which he possessed. This is a very good reason for persecuting those who are not of our opinion.

No people surely are more deserving of excommunication than those who want to take away our estates. This is the greatest cause of war among men. Everyone defends his property as far as he is able.

But that in the midst of peace intestine wars should arise about idle, incomprehensible stories, purely metaphysical; that under the reign of Louis XIII., in the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-four, it should be forbidden under the penalty of being sent to the galleys, to think otherwise than did Aristotle; that the innate ideas of Des-

cartes should be anathematized, to admit them afterward; that more than one question worthy of Rabelais should be made a question of state, is barbarous.

It has been asked why, from the time of Romulus till such time as the popes became powerful, the Romans never persecuted a single philosopher for his opinions. No other answer can be given than that the Romans were wise.

Cicero was very powerful. He says in one of his letters: "Suto, when would you choose that I should make a partition of Gaul?" He was much attached to the sect of Academics; but we do not find that it ever entered his head to exile a Stoic, to exclude an Epicurean from office, or to molest a Pythagorean.

And thou, ill-fated Jurieu, a fugitive from thine own village, thou wouldst oppress the fugitive Bayle, in his asylum and thine own; thou didst permit Spinoza, of whom thou wast not jealous, to rest in peace; thou wouldst overwhelm the respectable Bayle, who exploded thy trifling refutation by the lustre of his fame.

The successor and heir to thirty kings has said: "Let us not persecute!" and the burgher of an obscure city, the inhabitant of a parish, a monk, dares to say: "Let us persecute!"

To ravish from man the liberty of thought! Just heaven! Begin then, ye fanatic tyrants! by cutting off our hands, that we may not write; tear out our tongues that speak against thee; pluck out our souls which detest thy barbarous sentiments.

There are countries in which superstition, equally vile and barbarous, brutalizes the human species—there are others in which the mind of man enjoys all its privileges.

Between these two extremes—the one celestial, and the other infernal—there is a people in a middle state, with whom philosophy is at one time cherished, at another proscribed; among whom Rabelais has been at one time printed by authority, but who let the great Arnaud perish from want in a foreign village—a people who have lived in the darkest gloom from the time of the Druids till such time as some rays of brightness fell upon them from the pen of Descartes.

Since that period the light gradually expanded itself from England. But will it be believed that Locke was scarcely known to this people about thirty years ago? Will it be believed, that when they were made acquainted with the wisdom of this great man, ignoramuses in office violently opposed the writer who first brought these truths from the island of philosophers into the country of frivolity?

If those who enlightened souls were persecuted, the rage also extended itself to those who saved bodies. Has it been demonstrated in vain that inoculation may preserve the lives of twenty-five thousand persons yearly in a great kingdom; and will the enemies of human welfare never cease treating our benefactors as public poisoners? If they had unluckily been listened to, what would have been the consequence? The neighboring people would have

concluded that this nation was equally divested of reason and courage.

Persecutions are, happily, only casual, only personal. They depend upon the caprice of three or four persons possessed of the devil, who perceive what no others would ever see if their understandings were not corrupted. They cabal, they combine, an outcry is made, the people are at first surprised, and then, all is forgotten!

A man is bold enough to say, not only after all physicians, but also after all other men, that if Providence had not given us hands, there would have been no artists, nor arts on earth.

A vinegar-maker, turned school-master, pronounces this proposition to be impious. He pretends that it attributes everything to our hands, and nothing to our minds.

A monkey would not dare to set forth such an accusation in the country of monkeys, but this accusation succeeds, however, among men.

The author at first is furiously persecuted, and at the end of three months nothing further is thought about it.

Most philosophical works are like La Fontaine's "Tales," which were at first burned, but were in the end brought upon the stage at the Comic Opera.

Why were these representations permitted? Because it was at length discovered that there was nothing in them but what was laughable.

Why does the book that has been proscribed remain peaceably in the hands of the readers?

Because it was shown that this book was in no

manner pernicious to society; that no improper thoughts or any pleasant sallies in it have deprived any citizen of the least privilege; that it has not raised the price of provisions; that the wallets of the mendicant monks have still been crammed; that the commerce of the world has not in the least been disturbed by it; and that the book has in reality only served to employ the leisure time of some readers.

The pleasure of persecution is, in fact, its only source.

Let us leave the casual oppression of philosophy, which has been a thousand times inflicted upon it among us, to come to theological oppression, which is more vindictive and enduring.

We may trace disputation to the primitive ages, and the opposing parties have always anathematized each other.

Which have been in the right? The strongest. Councils combat councils, till at length authority and time decide.

Then the two parties unite, persecute a third that rises up, and this oppresses a fourth.

We too well know that blood has been continually shed for one thousand five hundred years on account of these disputes, but this fact is not sufficiently considered.

If there never had been any persecution, there never had been any religious war.

Let us then a thousand times repeat, with the dauphin, whose loss we so much deplore: "Let us not persecute."

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